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GENERAL RIGBY, ZANZIBAR
and the
SLAVE TRADE

Joint author, with the late C. E. B. Russell, M.A.,

of

THE MAKING OF THE CRIMINAL

Macmillan, 1906

WORKING LADS' CLUBS

Macmillan, 1908

Revised edition:

LADS' CLUBS

Black, 1932

GENERAL RIGBY, ZANZIBAR
and the
SLAVE TRADE

WITH JOURNALS, DISPATCHES, ETC

edited by his daughter

MRS. CHARLES E. B. RUSSELL

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"Independently of the energetic exertions of Colonel Rigby to arrest it, there are absolutely no restrictions whatever on the infamous traffic."

ADMIRAL GREY, 1860

"Colonel Rigby has just left Zanzibar, and no one can have watched the history of Eastern Africa for the last few years without being struck by the many proofs which it reveals of his judgment, of his energy and fortitude."

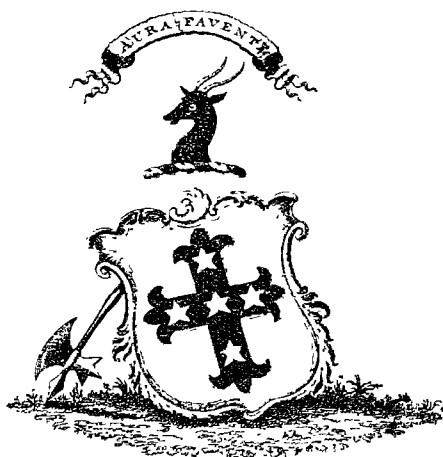
LORD STRATHEDEN, in the House of Lords, July 1861

"If General Rigby had not freed the Indian slaves, it would have been impossible to accomplish what has since been done. . . . Without General Rigby's work, Zanzibar would not have become a commercial centre dominated over by British interests and British trade."

SIR JOHN KIRK, 1883

"General Rigby . . . a man in whom the slave found a true friend, and from whom just that influence radiated which is far too rare. . . ."

REV. HORACE WALLER, 1893



Christopher Palmer Rigby.

TO
CHRISTOPHER PRATER RIGBY
AND
ELIZABETH CLARE RIGBY
HIS GRANDCHILDREN

“. . . We will assay to abridge in one volume.

“For considering the infinite number, and the difficulty which they find that desire to look into the narrations of the story, for the variety of the matter,

“We have been careful, that they that will read may have delight, and that they that are desirous to commit to memory might have ease, and that all into whose hands it come might have profit.

“Therefore to us, that have taken upon us this painful labour of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching;

“Even as it is no case unto him that prepareth a banquet, and seeketh the benefit of others; yet for the pleasuring of many we will undertake gladly this great pains;

“Leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and labouring to follow the rules of an abridgment.

“For as the master-builder of a new house must care for the whole building; but he that undertaketh to set it out, and paint it, must seek out fit things for the adorning thereof: even so I think it is with us.

“To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story.

“But to use brevity, and avoid much labouring of the work, is to be granted to him that will make an abridgment.

“Here then will we begin the story: only adding thus much to that which hath been said, that it is a foolish thing to make a long prologue, and to be short in the story itself.”

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FOREWORD

WHEN my Father died in 1885, many who had known him said a biography ought to be written. Colonel J. A. Grant, the famous explorer, the closest friend of his retired years, was willing to undertake the task, and took counsel with my mother. But they decided that the time was not ripe, that much that ought to be said, if justice were to be done to the subject, must remain unsaid. And so Grant wrote only a bald little obituary for the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and it is only after fifty years have passed that the work is now attempted. The disadvantage is that practically all who knew him have passed away—there has only been the written word to draw from—and to all but an infinitesimal number of readers he will come as a new acquaintance. On the other hand a rich store of dispatches and other official documents which would have been inaccessible at the time of his death are now at the disposal of readers in the Public Records Office, whose officials, along with those of the India Office and Royal Geographical Society's libraries, I will take this opportunity of thanking for their courtesy and aid.

Even for those who read only for recreation and amusement, I am hopeful that the extracts from the Journals, fresh from the Victorian era, with their glimpses of bygone society and customs, of many countries and many well-known men, with their unconscious *naïveté*, their dashes of humour, such as Arrowsmith's toothbrush and "His Holiness' lean fleas," their prejudices, their wideawake observation and genial, kindly outlook, will not prove dull.

While the more serious will, I believe, value them for the presentment of a typical Empire-builder of the mid-nineteenth century, resourceful, industrious, unassuming, fearless in danger, frank, outspoken and single-minded, never shirking responsibility, uncompromising in his championship of right, passionately devoted to unformulated ideals of justice, liberty

and humanity. A childhood of almost inconceivable misery had left its mark upon him—not the mark of bitterness and hardness which might have been expected, but the mark of understanding and sympathy with suffering.

When he went to India, a mere child of sixteen years, without influence or friends, he knew that for success in life he must depend on his own efforts, and he formed the life-long habit of devoting all his leisure to the acquisition of knowledge, especially knowledge of his fellow-men of every race and country within his reach. The first key to this knowledge he believed to be language. He passed the difficult Army Interpretership examinations in six Oriental languages before he was thirty years of age, and in all he could read and converse in fifteen different tongues. In whatever country he found himself he studied it from every aspect—geography, people, language, literature, history, trade, manufactures, geology, natural resources. And industry did not make him dull. He had keen zest for life, and enjoyed all there was to enjoy to the full, especially the companionship of his friends. He loved to walk, to climb the Alps, to ride, to swim, to sail, to row, to dance, to stroll through the great European picture-galleries and museums, to attend the opera, to converse with men and women of all classes, to eat good dinners and drink good wines. His geniality, his sense of humour, his lucid, sound judgments, and his skill as a raconteur made him an ever-welcome companion.

Above all, I am hopeful that this volume will be valued for the sidelights it throws on History. The Persian War for instance passed almost unnoticed owing to the superior interest of the Indian Mutiny. Here we have it fresh from a young officer's point of view. We get a vivid glimpse of Russia, its Army and its Czar just before the Crimean War. A great Dominion is being built up in East Africa. Will not everything that bears on the early History of that Dominion be of interest to its inhabitants? Surely I am justified in claiming that, but for my Father's presence in Zanzibar during the very critical

year of the Rebellion, it is possible, even probable, that that State, and the coast dependent on it, and the hinterland would not now be British at all?

And lastly I believe that Rigby should be remembered as the first and greatest enemy of the East African slave trade. That he actually gave freedom to eight thousand slaves while in residence at Zanzibar was a great achievement, but there can be little doubt that he did more, and that it was his championship of the cause of the tortured African that advanced at least by several years the measures which suppressed the trade and so preserved the lives and happiness of untold millions.

I have given much space to this matter of the African slave trade because it seems in danger of being forgotten. A realization of the white man's hideous guilt in the near past should promote a sense of his obligation to be scrupulous in justice to the black man of the present. Not even yet, not even in every territory under the British flag which represents Justice, is all as it should be between white and black. The white man, to leave worse untold, is still too often impatient, contemptuous, arrogant, disposed to condemn the "nigger" as stupid because he himself has not learnt the native language or made any attempt to "*se fourrer dans la peau d'autrui*," disposed to condemn him as lazy because he will not work with enthusiasm for rewards which no white man would for a moment consider. Rigby's wide humanity, and the deep, sympathetic understanding of African mentality he had gained by his power of conversing with the natives kept him far from such judgments, though he was anything but "soft," as will repeatedly be seen.

Africa still needs men like him—needs the best that Europe can give to make reparation for its ghastly cruelties. One European of supreme genius has realized this and has written:

"We and our civilization are burdened really with a great debt. We are not free to confer benefits on these men, or not,

as we please; it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence, but atonement. . . . When we have done all that is in our power, we shall not have atoned for the thousandth part of our guilt. . . .”¹

LILIAN M. RUSSELL

¹ Albert Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest* (1922), Seventh Impression, p. 172.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IN 1879 my Father began to write for us children a consecutive account of his life extracted from little leather-covered pocket notebooks of various shapes and sizes in which, during most of his career, he had recorded, often in pencil and in minute but always legible writing, the events and impressions of the passing days. Along with official dispatches, and letters and reports, this is the main source for the present volume, but occasionally I have drawn on the original diaries. The quarto volume in which he wrote with meticulous clarity and neatness, as indeed he always wrote, had originally been destined to receive extracts from his favourite writers, newspaper-cuttings and the like. So the Journal is preceded by passages from Byron (e.g. from "Cain"), Goethe, Schiller, Petrarch, Southey ("They sin who tell us love can die"), Lamartine, Bulwer, Hafiz (with the originals exquisitely copied), a Turkish love-letter with the original, Firdausi, etc. His admiration for some of these quotations was so characteristic that I append a few for the light they throw on him. I believe those from Eastern writers to be his own translations, but have no means of confirming this. That from the Arabic he copied at the beginning of the *Journal of Tours Abroad* which later he wrote for each of his children as a pattern instead of keeping a diary of his own when we accompanied him to the Continent. A newspaper-cutting, "Oh, Mother, a hoop!" illustrates his love of humour.

“Travel! Thou wilt find a friend in place of him thou leavest,
And fatigue thyself; for by labour are the sweets of life obtained.
To a man of intelligence there is no glory in a constant residence.
Therefore quit thy native place and travel.

“I have observed that the stagnation of water corrupteth it,
If it floweth it becometh sweet, but otherwise it doth not.
If the full moon never set, the eye of the contemplative would not pay
Just regard to it.

“The lions, if they left not the forest, would capture no prey.
And the arrow, if it quitteth not the bow, would not strike the mark.
The grains of gold upon their native bed
Are regarded as mere dust.

“And the fragrant aloe’s wood where it groweth
Is regarded only as mere firewood.
Therefore quit thy native country and travel!”

FROM THE ARABIC

“To study past ages in history, men by travelling and God in nature—this is the grand school. We study everything in our miserable books, and compare everything with our petty local habits. And who made our habits and our books? Men who knew as little as ourselves. Let us open the book of books! Let us live, see and travel! The world is a book of which we turn a page at every step. How little must he know who has turned but one page.

“No man’s education and views can be enlarged unless he has travelled much, unless he has changed twenty times his modes of thinking and his habits of life. The conventional and uniform customs adopted by the man who leads a regular and monotonous life in his own country are moulds which give a diminished impress to everything. Taste, philosophy, religion, character are all more enlarged, more just and accurate in the man who has seen nature and society from various points of view.”

LAMARTINE

“Happiness is in ourselves; we shall not increase it by extending the boundaries of our meadows or our vineyards. Happiness is measured by resignation of heart; for God hath willed that the poor should have an equal share with the rich.”

LAMARTINE

"Think not, O King! the fate of you or me
 Depends on what I write or you decree.
 Your Maker reverence and your neighbour love,
 Such is the path as marked us from above,
 Salvation's path, the due when he goes hence,
 Of him that's good, of beggar or of prince.
 To vie in state you might not judge me fit,
 Yet feared you not the satire of my wit?
 To yonder ant, a heap of grain its treasure,
 Life is a pain, yet deems it life a pleasure.
 Had genius with my sovereign found its price,
 I should have honour met and not disgrace.
 Had Mahmood's mother been of royal blood,
 Midst gold and silver to the knees I'd stood,
 Or had the King a kingly father got,
 A royal robe or crown had been my lot.
 But such you were, the meanness of your birth
 Precluded every generous thought of worth.
 Your mind to justice never could aspire
 Nor well could greatness find a dwelling there.
 On King or kingly race no claim had he,
 Your sire a blacksmith, hence your pedigree.
 Of such low lineage what must be the heir
 Can we by washing make the negro fair?
 Though a king's son, the bastard of a slave
 Who could expect to emulate the brave?"

FIRDAUSI'S SATIRE ON MAHMOOD OF GHAZNI

"Songster sweet begin the lay
 Ever new and ever gay.
 Bring the joy-inspiring wine,
 Ever fresh and ever fine.
 With a heart-alluring lass
 Gaily let the moments pass,
 Kisses stealing when you may
 Ever fresh and ever gay.
 Gentle boy whose silver feet,
 Nimble move to cadence sweet,
 Fill us quick the gen'rous wine,
 Ever fresh and ever fine.
 How enjoy life's tedious hours
 Without wine's seducing powers?

To me the sweet enchanting maid,
 Charms devotes that never fade.
 Charms to inspire her poet's song,
 Ever fair and ever young.
 Zephyrs, whilst you gently move,
 By the mansion of my love,
 Softly Hafiz' strains repeat,
 Ever new and ever sweet."

A POEM OF HAFIZ,
 TRANSLATED BY C. P. RIGBY, 1844

"What a fine thing have I seen to-day,
 Oh! Mother, a hoop!
 I must have one, and you can't say nay.
 Oh! Mother a hoop!
 The hoops do men's eyes and men's hearts so allure,
 That I shan't get a husband without one, I'm sure
 Oh! Mother, a hoop!
 One thing I'm told which I beg you will note,
 Oh! Mother a hoop!
 Nine men and nine women upset in a boat:
 Oh! Oh! for a hoop!
 The men were all drowned, but the women did float
 And by aid of their hoops they were safely pulled out
 Oh! give me a hoop! Oh! Mother a hoop!"

"Say, blooming maid, with bosom fair as snow,
 High o'er our heads like some majestic pine,
 Whence camest thou, and whither dost thou go,
 To kill unfeeling with thy form divine?
 In flowery meadows, if thou heedless roam,
 Each fond narcissus lifts its eyes to view
 Thy mouth more luscious than the honeycomb,
 Or virgin rosebuds set with pearly dew.
 Like some keen fowler here you plant a snare,
 Then with portentous glance thy bows prepare.
 Thy jetty eyebrows' lunar crescents seem
 In beauteous arches o'er bright stars to bend,
 Whence rays like fatal arrows swiftly gleam.
 Ah, spare me now, and to my prayer attend,

Khakaner, angel! is thy captive slave,
 A prostrate victim of thy matchless charms.
 Say, who art thou? and snatch him from the grave,
 To clasp thee, grateful, in his longing arms."

TRANSLATION BY C. P. RIGBY
 FROM THE PERSIAN, 1844

A SPECIMEN OF RIGBY'S ARABIC WRITING

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ
 نَسْتَعِينُ اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ
 أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ
 آمِينَ :

TRANSLATION

In the name of the most merciful God.

Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures, the most merciful, the King of the day of judgment, thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray. Amen.

C. P. R., Aden, February 27, 1842

GENERAL RIGBY, ZANZIBAR AND THE SLAVE TRADE

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

CHRISTOPHER PALMER RIGBY was the youngest son and sixth child of a family of eight. His father, Tipping Thomas Rigby, was a Barrister, Recorder of Wallingford, the eldest son of Tipping Rigby, and Alderman of the City of London, grandson of the Rector of Ickford, Buckinghamshire, and great-grandson of Christopher Rigby of Cosgrave Hall, Northamptonshire, who, like several of his forebears, was M.P. for the County. Another Christopher, a great-uncle, was in command of one of the ships of the Royal Navy when Manila was captured from the Spaniards in 1762. I remember my Father telling me as a child that the Rigby who was Member for a Lancashire constituency in the seventeenth century was an ancestor in the direct line. This was Alexander Rigby (1594-1650), Parliamentary Colonel and Baron of the Exchequer, eldest son of Alexander Rigby of Wigan. In 1639 he was living near Rigby, a hamlet of the parish of Kirkham. He was Member for Wigan in the Short Parliament. As a Member he was active on committees, and as a military leader he took a prominent part in the Civil War. His eldest son also was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parliamentary Army. His legal reputation was considerable, and he was nominated one of the Judges for the King's trial.

A beautiful silver seal with the family crest, given me by my Father when I was nine years old, dates, according to Messrs Wyon, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The account of Rigby's early years as written in his Journal needs no abbreviation, and the rest of this chapter may best be given in his own words.

I was born at Yateley Lodge, Hants, on the 18th of January, 1820, and according to the custom of those days I was put out to nurse in a cottage until I was two years old. This horrid and unnatural custom of separating young children from the parents of course went far to destroy natural affection on both sides. All I remember of my early childhood is the harshness and neglect with which I was treated. My Father was affectionate and fond of his children; my Mother never cared for them in the slightest, and she always evinced an especial dislike to me. I never remember during my whole childhood the slightest caress or affection from her. I therefore grew up with a fear and dread of her, and always ran away and hid when I saw her approaching. At this time my Father had chambers in the Inner Temple, and usually remained all the week in London, returning home by the coach on Saturday. I always dreaded his return, knowing the beating in store for me. His first visit was always to the nursery, armed with a stick or cane, and in reply to his question if the children had been good, the nurse's reply was, "Yes, all very good except Master Christopher." Knowing what would follow, I used to pile all the chairs and furniture in one corner and creep under them to get out of the way of the cane. At that early age I remember how indignant I felt that the nurse would go into the garden and take the choicest greengages and apricots from the trees, and when these were missed deliberately say it was Master Christopher who had done it. The only person who showed me kindness was an old servant named James Rackley, who occupied a pretty cottage with a magnificent pear-tree in his garden, about half a mile from our house up a steep hill. When I was only four years old I got possession of an old bandbox, in which, watching an opportunity, I packed all my little clothes, and putting on the top two bricks to build a house, I ran away to Rackley's cottage. But going up the hill the weight of the bricks caused the bottom of the bandbox to give way, and all my clothes fell out and were lost in the road. My Father was so impressed with the accounts he received of my being so troublesome and mischievous, that my Mother

prevailed on him to send me at Christmas 1827, before I was eight years old, to a cheap school at Brough in Westmoreland, kept by a Mr H. A. Arrowsmith. The terms of this school were £20 a year and no holidays. On a miserable cold winter's day I started on the outside of the coach on my dreary journey of three hundred miles. We travelled day and night, and on the second day arrived at Birmingham, and put up at the Hen and Chickens Hotel, Bull Street. This was the first large town I had ever seen, and not knowing that I ought to have kept on the side pavement, I was walking in the roadway, tired and sleepy, having been half frozen on the outside of the coach all the previous night, when I was knocked down by a wagon, and narrowly escaped being run over. After two more days and nights we arrived at the school, and a life of hardship and roughing it commenced such as few boys have any idea of in the present day. We had to sleep three in a bed, and there being insufficient room, the smallest boy was kicked out and stood shivering on the cold floor, not daring to creep into bed again until certain the other two boys were fast asleep. In all weathers the boys had to go out to a pump in the yard to wash. Each morning the master went round the boys' bedrooms with a birch rod, and severely flogged any of the little boys who had wetted their beds. We were taught very little at this school, and were allowed great liberty in going about the Westmoreland moors and fells as we pleased. We were often out all night in the meadows setting night lines, and sometimes came back wet through and had to remain all day in our wet clothes to escape detection. We were fed very miserably, only having fresh meat on two or three days a week. One day in the week we had bread and very nasty cheese for dinner. On Saturdays all the scraps of the week were made into very nauseous soup. For breakfast and tea we had a basin of thick, solid oatmeal porridge every day without any change. White bread was only given occasionally as a treat, and I remember when the Master had twins all the boys were marched in to see them, and each presented with a slice of white bread instead of plum cake.

I remained at Brough nearly three years without going home once for holidays. We were only allowed to write home twice a year, when the Master went to London to bring back new boys. Each boy was obliged to write the same letter, saying that he was very happy, and did not want to go home, but would like a pocket-knife and neck-handkerchief as presents. If a boy posted a letter to his home without the Master's knowledge, the Postmaster, instead of forwarding it, was sure to bring it back to Arrowsmith, and the boy was cruelly flogged as a warning to others. Some of the boys had been for years in the school, and knew of no parents or relations. They were made to work on Arrowsmith's farm like common labourers.

After three years of this miserable, neglected boyhood, seeing no prospect of being removed from the school, I determined to write to my Father, so I procured a sheet of paper, made some ink of soot and water, got a piece of cobbler's wax to seal it, and wrote the letter hiding in a hayloft. I told my Father how miserable I was, and begged to be taken away. I then walked four miles to the town of Kirkby Stephen to post it, and thus my letter arrived safely, and caused my Father to order me to be sent to London by coach. I have never forgotten my delight on being informed that I was to go. Arrowsmith invited me to tea, and told me to say how kind he had always been to me, and that Mrs A. had always been like a mother; and he gave me one of his old toothbrushes, saying I was to tell my Mother I had always possessed one. As I have now done with Arrowsmith, I may here state that some time after he deserted his wife and family, and went off to America, and long after my Father continued to receive pitiful applications for charity from Mrs Arrowsmith on the ground of her great kindness to me.¹

I well remember my journey home via Barnard Castle and Richmond to York, where I slept, and my waking up in a dream screaming, fancying Arrowsmith had caught me and was taking

¹ I think there is little doubt that it was his sufferings at this school which later inspired Rigby with a depth of pity alien to his age for the sufferings of slaves, particularly child-slaves. He *knew*.—L. M. R.

me back to Brough. When I reached Yateley, no one of the family knew me, I was such a poor, half-starved-looking little wretch, with large boils on the neck which prevented my holding up my head. My sister Minnie burst out crying. However, I soon improved in health. But after a few weeks my Mother began to persecute and illtreat me, so that I made up my mind to run away. It was the winter of 1830. I was then nearly eleven years old when I started early one morning to walk to London. I went twenty-two miles, walking all day. I had nothing to eat, it grew dark and cold. I was wandering along the lonely country road between Staines and Hounslow Heath, which then had such an evil repute for highwaymen. A coach from London passed. I stopped it, and offered the coachman two shillings, which was all I possessed, to take me back to Blackwater, the nearest point to Yateley, two miles distant from it. On my arrival at home, I was locked up in a cold garret and threatened with severe punishment, but on my declaring that I would run away to Portsmouth and go to sea, my Mother thought it best to treat me more kindly for a short time.

In the following month, viz. January 1831, when I was eleven years old, I went to the Grammar School, Abingdon, Berks, the Head Master of which was then the Rev. Joseph Hewlett, a clever, pleasant man, but utterly unfit for the position of schoolmaster. In the middle of the last term I was there, he was arrested for debt, and imprisoned in London, and the school suddenly broke up in consequence until a new Head Master was appointed.

Although I acquired very little knowledge at Abingdon School, nothing being taught but Greek, Latin and Divinity, I have always looked back with pleasure to the time I passed there, and I have kept up a friendship with several of my old schoolfellows there which has lasted through life. The Grammar School of Abingdon has always maintained a high character, Dr Lemprière, the author of the Classical Dictionary, having been Head Master of it for many years. Many of the Peel family were educated there, and many boys from Winchester College

came there in order to compete for the scholarship to Pembroke College, Oxford.

I greatly enjoyed the boating, fishing and swimming at Abingdon, and our rambles in the woods of Newnham Courtney and Radley on half holidays, when we were left to pass our afternoons as we pleased. The river excursions to Newnham and Sandford in the summer were very pleasant.

Being what was called "Founder's Kin," it was intended that I should remain at Abingdon until I obtained a Founder's Scholarship to Pembroke, but I appeared to have no aptitude for the acquisition of Latin and Greek. I hated the dry, parrot-like method in which we were taught. We had the Charterhouse Greek Grammar with the rules all written in Latin, the Greek Testament without a note or word of explanation, and we were not allowed to ask the master any questions. We had to learn a portion by rote each day, and we were never asked to understand what we thus acquired. The boys' reasoning faculties were never exercised. The consequence was I got so flogged and caned every Greek day that I became convinced I had no talent for acquiring languages, and accordingly wrote to my Father asking him to choose some other career for me.

A few days afterwards my Father wrote offering to procure me a Cadetship to India, giving me two days to decide on accepting or refusing it, adding that in case of my accepting, I should go to the Military College at Addiscombe directly I was old enough to enter, viz. fourteen years of age.

I quite remember weighing all the pros and cons of this offer in my mind the next Sunday at church, and the result was the next day I wrote to my Father accepting the offer. During the remainder of my stay at Abingdon I learnt no Greek, but prepared for the entrance examination to Addiscombe.

I joined the Military College in January 1834, being then a few days over fourteen. I was the youngest and by far the smallest Cadet in the College, and for some time I had hard work to keep up with the class, in which most of the boys were considerably older than myself, and many of whom had been

prepared by special masters for the course of study in Hutton's Mathematics, Straith's Fortification, etc., which was carried on at the College.

On the whole I was very happy at Addiscombe, and I have always retained a great regard for the old College. I was particularly fond of Military Drawing, Field Surveying and Fortification, and in these I made good progress.

I remained two years at Addiscombe, and passed the final examination on December 11, 1835, being fourteenth on the list out of thirty-three Cadets who passed for their commissions at the same examination. As I was not of sufficient age to receive a commission, I had to wait until my sixteenth birthday, January 18th following, and from that date my rank in the Army commenced. The seventeen Cadets who were below me at Addiscombe, and all Ensigns who were appointed between December 11th and January 18th thus took rank above me owing to my being too young.

A letter written in Rigby's fifteenth year has survived destruction.

“ADDISCOMBE

Sept. 26th, 1834

“MY DEAR FATHER,

“You will no doubt be surprised at my having so long delayed to answer your letter as to when Croydon Fair commences. The studies are closed on Tuesday next the 30th at 1 o'clock, and we are all expected to return to Addiscombe on the following Tuesday by 1 o'clock. I am very much obliged by your kind offer of permitting me to join you during that period, but I think that on account of the expense and trouble, especially as I should be obliged to sleep in London on the following Monday night on returning, and recollecting the trouble it cost at Easter although you then had Chambers, I do not think it worth while coming home at Michaelmas, therefore I shall not trouble you for an invitation. If I get into any disturbance in the Fair, it will be my own fault, and I shall suffer for it, but I will take care that nothing goes wrong. I get on very well in all my studies, altho' as I have not long been promoted to a higher class I was not very high in merit, but as I intend pursuing my studies during the week of Croydon Fair, I

shall be higher next month. I shall very soon finish Algebra, when I shall pass for a higher class, viz. the 3rd, but I do not expect to be promoted again until next term.

"I suppose you were not very sorry for old C., but I hope he has left you a few thousands.

"I should like very much to hear all the news from Edwin and Tipping,¹ and how they get on, and what has happened to them during their voyage. Give my love to Mama and my dear Sisters, and desiring to be remembered to Edwin and Tipping when you next write,

"I remain

"My dear Father

"Your ever affectionate son

"C. P. RIGBY"

¹ His brothers. Both died young, one I believe by drowning at sea when shipwrecked.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE IN THE SERVICE.

INDIA, ADEN, LEAVE IN EUROPE, 1836-1853

WHEN just over sixteen years of age, Rigby sailed from Gravesend in March 1836, on a fine old teak-built ship, with five passengers and a crew consisting of six officers, four midshipmen, a doctor, a purser and 106 seamen. The weather was alternately so foggy and so stormy that five weeks went by and four anchors and a man were lost before the ship finally got away from Plymouth. Thence under favourable conditions the voyage to Bombay occupied no less than ninety days. After a few weeks spent in procuring outfit and familiarizing himself with Indian conditions, he joined the 5th Regiment of Native Infantry at Poona, where he remained for eighteen months thoroughly enjoying the very jolly life that station then provided for a boy. For in addition to the officers of the Regiment, there were twelve attached Ensigns, and about the same number with two other regiments, many of them of course old acquaintances from Addiscombe. Leave was given liberally, and frequently the mess-tents would be sent to some pretty spot on the banks of the Moota Moolla, where the boys would picnic for a week at a time, shooting and fishing and boating all day. But, young as he was, Rigby was not content to devote himself only to pleasure. He saw from the first that without "interest" his only chance of advancement lay in his own efforts. He worked steadily at native languages, and in 1838 obtained leave to attend an examination in Bombay. He pitched his tent on the Esplanade, worked hard all day with *munshees*, and passed the Interpretership examination in Hindustani without difficulty. He did not return to the 5th, but was definitely posted to the 16th Native Infantry. To reach it he sailed in a native boat to Vingorla, three hundred miles to the south, and marched thence through beautiful country to Belgaum. But what a contrast he

found to the life at Poona! There were no young officers, the Regiment was noted for slow promotion, and some of its Ensigns had been in the Army from ten to twelve years! The C.O. was a morose person who never associated with his officers, and they were all at loggerheads with each other. After three months Rigby was ordered to a detachment at Vingorla, where it rained unceasingly for six months, and the only other officers, two in number, lived entirely secluded lives, so that he had no one to speak to. As a result he devoted himself entirely to the study of the Mahratta language, and early in 1839, at Bombay, passed the Interpretership examination with his name first on the list. He was highly complimented by the President of the Committee on his complete mastery of so difficult and so little studied a language. The 16th had been ordered to Bombay with a view to its forming part of a field force for the conquest of Sinde, but its C.O. was in such disfavour at Headquarters that it was retained for garrison duty. Instead of idly lamenting what must have been a grievous disappointment, Rigby took up the study of Persian, a knowledge of which was then the best stepping-stone to Staff employment. He greatly enjoyed the pleasant hospitality and society Bombay then afforded. He lived again in a tent on the Esplanade for the fair season, and during the monsoon shared with three other young officers the rent of a large house near the sea, with a beautiful garden, and with lovely woods around it—a site he found later covered with hideous cotton-factories.

At this period there was great excitement all over India owing to the war in Afghanistan. Troops were everywhere on the move; all regiments were looking forward to active service. Sinde had been annexed. War with Persia was expected. Aden had recently been captured, and in March 1840 a wing of the 16th was ordered to reinforce its garrison, hard pressed by repeated attacks of the Arabs. To this wing Rigby was appointed Quartermaster, Interpreter and Paymaster, with a Captain's pay, he being just twenty years of age.

On arrival at Aden forty days after sailing from Bombay, the

garrison was found undergoing great privations, in fact almost starving, for the place was blockaded by a large force of Arabs, who prevented any supplies from entering. All officers, not excepting Staff officers, had to go on outlying picket duty in the hills at night after being hard at work all day, and this at times every night for a fortnight on end. As time went on and the blockade continued, there was much sickness, nearly all the troops suffering from scurvy (as beri-beri was then called) and large ulcers.

In spite of overwork and depressing circumstances, Rigby devoted himself to the study of the Arabic, Somali and Amhari languages, and compiled an *Outline* of the latter which was published by the Geographical Society, it being the first attempt to delineate that language. He was congratulated by the Commander-in-Chief, and thanked by Government for this and also for a paper he wrote on the North-East Coast of Africa. This work shows how even from his twenty-first year Rigby was deeply interested in the problems of African exploration and African ethnology. It gives a most interesting summary of all that was known up to that date of the geography and peoples of Abyssinia and the neighbouring coast as far south as Zanzibar.¹ Unfortunately he left no diary of his travels in Africa at this period.

After nearly four years of the life of hardship at Aden, during part of which time he was Adjutant in addition to his other appointments, his health broke down (1843). When he was carried on board the steamer, his friends had little hope of his reaching Bombay. There, however, delivered from the burning heat of Aden and living in comfort with friends, his health rapidly improved, and he seized the opportunity of working all day at Persian. He passed the Interpreter's examination

¹ It was reprinted in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. vi, as was the *Outline of the Somauli Language* in vol. ix. The vocabulary occupies 48 pages. Letters written in 1844 on the Geology (they were accompanied by specimens) and Archaeology of the Mahratta Country may also be found in the *Transactions* (1845). Rigby took great interest in the Jain inscriptions.

"with great credit," the only officer of the Bombay Army who had passed during five years. On leave in the Mahableshwar Hills during the hot season and at Ahmednuggar during the monsoon, he completely recovered his health, and led an enjoyable life while working at the Guzeratti language to such good purpose that in October of the same year he passed as an Interpreter in that also. As Interpreter in four native languages, his achievement already surpassed that of any other officer in the Service. On the very eve of returning to Aden, in recognition of these efforts he received his first Staff appointment, that of Assistant Superintendent of the Revenue Survey in the Deccan.

During his first tour of duty, in spite of very absorbing work, he spent his evenings in the study of yet another language, and was the first officer to pass an examination in it, when he was declared (1844) in a General Order by Government to be "highly qualified for the transaction of public business in the Canarese language." For the rainy season he was ordered to Poona. The palanquin in which he had to travel for seven days was saturated by the incessant downpour, and on arrival he was the victim of a very painful attack of neuralgia in the head and neck which robbed him of all sleep. He struggled on for a time, but to his grievous disappointment was at last compelled to apply for sick leave to Bombay. This was unfortunate indeed, for Sir George Arthur had invited him to stay at Government House with the intention of appointing him Acting Private Secretary during the absence in Europe of his son-in-law, Bartle Frere. Reduced to a skeleton, and suffering agony day and night, after some weeks without improvement he was ordered to Europe, though he pleaded in vain, ill as he was, to be allowed instead to go to Egypt and Syria, his plan being to travel there as an Arab carpet-dealer.

After an absence of more than eight and a half years, he landed in England in November 1844, saw a railway for the first time, and proceeded to his father's house, where he stayed until he was well enough to take rooms in London. Here he learnt the polka, joined the Oriental Club, and to his surprised

delight received from Government a present of £100 as a reward for having passed the examinations in five languages.

A walking-tour in Switzerland and visits to Paris, Brussels and the chief cities of Austria and Germany at a cost of £90 occupied 90 days of 1845, the winter was passed in Paris, the spring of 1846 in the cities of Italy, the early summer in London. Then a journey to Holland and the Rhine was followed by another walking-tour, this time in the Eastern Alps, South Tirol and Carinthia, after which he settled in Vienna, and worked hard at German. In Vienna he received a letter from his father, then aged seventy-three, which seems worth reproducing for its delightful *naïveté* and remoteness from our present age.

“HOMBURG

“*Jan. 18th, 1847*

“ . . . I had fully intended to have left this for Wiesbaden on my way to Boulogne—but the accounts are so bad of the crossing the Rhine at present that I did not feel justified in exposing myself not merely to the inclemencies of the season, but to the real dangers attendant on the journey at this time. And why should I? To go to Boulogne, a place I much dislike, and which has always disagreed with me. Your Mother knows well that I have had two dangerous illnesses there, and that I have often expressed my dislike of the place. In all your observations respecting it I concur, and think it indeed a poor exchange for Yateley—whether I look to its climate, comforts, Economics or respectability. In all which it is very inferior, more particularly in the latter. But these thoughtless women only look to gossip—the seaside and pleasure parties as they term them, but which are my aversion. Oh, the mornings I at one time on your first arrival used to pass with you in my little snug, discussing subjects of History, Philosophy and Antiquity—with ready reference on any disputed or anomalous points to Gibbon, Robertson, Mill, etc., etc. . . .

“I am quite pleased with your account of Vienna, your introduction to and conversation with the Emperor and Lord Ponsonby. . . . I was thinking of writing to Lord Shaftesbury and the Marquis of Douro to send you letters of introduction to Lord Ponsonby.

“A Gentleman with whom I have made acquaintance here has travelled much and says of all places for a residence Provence is the

most agreeable—fine climate—abundance of delicious Fruits and fragrant Flowers, and the best of living, wines, etc. An English family can, He says, keep carriages, Horses, Dogs, see their Friends and live as well on £500 a year as in England for £5000. He is going to Vienna, has been playing high here and I believe has lost some hundreds. I met him at a Dinner Party—we walk out together—and I find He was a Commissioner in Australia. . . . As to the fancied difference between England and France respecting the Montpensier marriage—in my opinion it is all mere pretence—till the English Ministry see how the English Parliament treat it. I think that the Queen and her family are by no means averse to it—but consider it as an addition to their Own high respectability being so nearly connected with the Royal Family of France. And the English People were so delighted with Louis Philippe when He came to England and have so great an esteem for his wisdom that they would not allow of any Minister quarrelling with Him for such a Cause. It is only the wicked press that for their own base lucre have endeavoured to excite a hostile Feeling on the Subject. But I think that England and France will not allow of the Independence of Cracow being crushed. And I am induced to this Opinion not merely from the complexion of the present Times from the progress of liberal Ideas in Politics, but also from what History records of our support of all free States from the time of the Exertions of our Queen Elizabeth to rescue the Netherlands from the Grasp of Spain and to protect all the low Countries in their Struggles for Liberty. Indeed it forms a great feature in our Policy to support all independent States—not only on the general Principles on which our Constitution is Founded—but also as so many Barriers against the Extension of despotic Powers which if too greatly aggrandized might threaten Our own Independence. See also how many of Our own People support in the very teeth of Our own Government the cause of the Poles—and even use terms and language at their public Meetings which are extremely offensive to Powers with whom we are in Amity, very unpleasant to Our Government, and not approved of by any serious, reflecting Persons. Yet it is not deemed prudent to interfere, but even Our great City Authorities by lending their Guildhall for their Meetings seem to sanction the Proceedings. . . .

“I would much have wished to have passed some of my time with you ere you depart for India, as I cannot expect to see you again after that. My health certainly is much better than when I left England, I suffer much less, but my Sands of Life are ebbing fast, and I cannot but look to that Bourne from whence no Traveller returns, with an expectant Eye. To me this world will soon be no

more. And every animated Being is a world to itself. What will be my position in my next Stage of Existence is often the subject of Meditation with me—for you are aware that I am of opinion that our Soul (the animating principle) has existed from all time and is indestructible (except by the Almighty, whose Power is unlimited). Am I then to remain an Inhabitant of this Globe or into which of the 118 millions of worlds the astronomers say they can descry am I to enter—‘Through what new Scenes and Changes must I pass’ is often a source of Contemplation with me. Thank God, I have no fear of Death. I look not to annihilation, but to Resurrection with a firm trust in the Great God of All. You as a young man have your Ideas all directed to your progress in this World which I am quitting. Ambition is goading you on, and you do right to study, to endeavour to attain one knowledge after another to increase your Stores of Learning and Utility so as to enlist all in your Service to advance. Pursue your course, and by Steadiness and Prudence and Care, your career will under God’s Providence be successful. But mark—Never be forgetful of that Providence. Of all and amidst all look up to the great Almighty Author of it. Pompey never was successful after he violated the Sanctity of the Holy of Holies, and Buonaparte declined as tho’ smitten by the Almighty after his vainglorious Sacrileges and scoffing at Religion, impiously asserting that He was the God of this world. . . . So in the midst of all worldly prosperity—think of your God. Not for the sake of your Prosperity, but for the sake of your God—think of Him above all. Confide in Him and He will never desert you. In your prosperity He will be your brightest Hope and highest Aspiration, and should Adversity overtake you, He will be your best and most satisfactory Consolation.

“Did you peruse the article on the discovery of a Central Sun 134 millions of miles more distant from our Solar System than Our Sun is from Us, Light being calculated to be five centuries in travelling from the one System to the other? I cannot see either the wisdom or utility of such discoveries and calculations, but opine with Pope that ‘Through thousand worlds altho’ the God be known, ’Tis ours to seek Him only in Our Own.’ More profit results to Mankind by useful discoveries in manufacture, in Chemistry, in the various mechanical Arts and Sciences than in all these astronomical discoveries. Of what service to Us is the knowledge of a new comet or another planet? Or whether the Milky Way is composed of Nebulae or of full-grown worlds—

“And now a Bubble bursts
And now a world—

"Your travels in Bohemia, Hungary, Transylvania and Carinthia would, if published, be far more beneficent to Mankind than all the abstruse calculations and visionary conjectures of these astronomers. . . .

"I should like to visit with you the seat of our Ancestors at Cosgrove Hall—also the Churches at Ewelme and Ickford . . . God bless you and adieu. Believe me to remain

"Your ever affectionate Father

"T. T. RIGBY

"P.S. Excuse all blunders as I write all this without Spectacles and have not time to read it over as it is now dark and I am called to Dinner. Yrs T. T. R."

In May Rigby left Vienna to travel in Bulgaria, Wallachia, Transylvania and Hungary, a tour which included an experience of the magnificent old Hungarian hospitality at the country seat of Baron Wesselenyi at Thorda. On arrival in England, his restlessness unappeased, he visited the Lakes, his old school at Brough, some Yorkshire resorts, Somerset and Dorset. In November 1847 he was back in Bombay. An appointment as Kunhar Bheel Agent, Assistant Magistrate in Khandesh, and Second in Command of the Khandesh Bheel Corps led him to buy a house and fruit-garden from his predecessor at Kunhur, but no sooner was he settled than Government, ever benign, ordered him off to take charge of a fair at Khyjee, seventy miles away, attended by 15,000 people from all parts of India. It lasted six weeks, and cholera broke out and caused much work and anxiety. Before he could return to his house at Kunhar, his appointment was changed to that of Western Bheel Agent on the opposite borders of Khandesh, with headquarters at Nundoorbar, and his nearest white neighbour seventy miles away.

His new district comprised a very wild, thinly populated territory of about one hundred and fifty miles along the Sathpoora Mountains and Scindwa Ghaut, bordered by Holkar's Dominions and the territories of several Bheel Chiefs. He also had political charge of seven chiefs imprisoned for rebellion.

His principal duty was to induce the wild Bheels to discontinue their marauding habits, quit the mountains, and form village communities in the plains, and even act as police along the high roads. They were taught agriculture, and received advances from Government for the purchase of ploughs, bullocks, etc. Great success attended the system until it all came to an end during the Mutiny.

During the two years he spent in this district, Rigby found time to study Arabic and pass his sixth examination as an Army Interpreter. This was the eighth Oriental language he had mastered before he was thirty years of age.¹ During the same period he wrote accounts of *Torun Mal* and the Bheel tribes of *The Sathpoora Mountains*, which were published by Government.

With his sympathetic understanding for native races and eagerness for research in every branch of knowledge, he enjoyed his work as Western Bheel Agent, lonely and strenuous as it was, immensely. The inhabitants of his District were at that time generally supposed to be wild and barbarous in the extreme. He found however that there were very wide divergencies among them. The natives of Torun Mal² he described as "a very quiet, inoffensive, timid people, very different from the Bheels in the plains. Their head man is Goorkhia Naik, a fine old man, who has often rendered good service in assisting in the apprehension of desperate characters who have taken refuge in these remote fastnesses." Again: "Many of the inhabitants are a peculiar class of people called 'Pauria,' although commonly supposed to be Bheels, and classed as such. They deny all affinity with the latter; and will neither eat nor associate with them. They worship 'Waghded,' or the tiger demon, they do not eat the flesh of swine or cows, and their manners and customs are quite different from those of the Bheel tribes. They speak a peculiar language, are very quiet

¹ Viz. Hindustani, Mahratta, Canarese, Guzeratti, Persian, Arabic, Somali, Amhari.

² In the Sathpoora Mountains, in the Sultanpoor Talooka of the Collectorate of Khandesh.

and inoffensive, robbery and plunder being almost unheard of among them. Most of them have settled in these hills during the last few years, having emigrated from the Native States bordering the Nurbudda. . . .”

In their country he found remains of stone and brick buildings scattered all over the hills. A substantial stone wall varying from ten to fifteen feet in thickness, had also been carried round the hills for many miles; it had been defended by round towers of most solid construction, and each of the three passes leading up to the tableland had been fortified by extensive works. All these were ascribed by the natives to the period of the Gowlee Raj, or Shepherd Kings, to whom were ascribed all the works in the west of Khandesh considered beyond the powers of the present race of inhabitants. These walls and fortifications were composed of blocks of stone piled up, without any mortar or *chunam* being used. The outward front was perfectly smooth, and this peculiarity of construction might be found in all works attributed to the period of the Gowlee Raj; as it also distinguished all Etruscan walls in the ancient cities of Italy.¹

He found three principal tribes in his District²—the Pauria, the Wurralee and the Bheels proper.

The Pauria lived in the mountains, and looked down on the others, having indeed attained to a considerably higher degree of civilization. They were intelligent, and he had no difficulty, for example, after explaining the matter, in persuading nearly all of them to have their children vaccinated. The Wurralees on the other hand lived in the low, forest-covered country, and were a miserable, sickly, undersized people of predatory habits. A Wurralee child attacked by smallpox would be immediately carried to the jungle and left to die, yet vaccination was obstinately refused. Several tribes of the Bheels were peaceful tillers of the soil, distinguished above the Hindoos of the plains by many good moral qualities. Shy at first, they proved to be cheerful, communicative, honest, reliable and industrious.

All the tribes were free from the tyranny of caste, sect or

¹ Report on Torun Mal.

² *The Sathpoora Mountains*, 1849.

priesthood, the oldest man in each village being simply looked up to as chief. There were no temples or idols, and the only form of religious worship was the propitiation of the Divine Power by offerings and sacrifices. But the rite of sacrifice—of goats and fowls—was only performed once a year, before the harvest. Rigby doubted “if any other race of people could be found so little influenced by religious prejudices or ceremonial observances.” The people believed however in the power of witchcraft and sorcery.

The Pauria women were never employed in field labour, and never married before reaching maturity. “The young men are generally permitted to choose for themselves, and these are perhaps the only people in Western India amongst whom love has any share in forming the marriage tie.”

This Report is of such enduring ethnological interest that I much regret that space forbids it being printed in full in the Appendix. The second half consists of statistics, and vocabularies of the languages of the three main tribes.

After a little over two years in this country, Rigby was entitled to furlough to Europe, having served ten years in India. He therefore resigned his appointment, and returned to England by way of Trieste and Vienna. The early summer of 1850 was passed in London, later he went for a walking and climbing tour in the Alps with three of his friends, returning to London in December through Ulm, Stuttgart, Strassburg and Paris. By this time he had formed the habit of keeping a pocket diary day by day, in which he recorded his delight in beautiful scenery—especially in the loveliness of Italian Alpine scenery such as he found in the Val d’Aosta, at Varallo and Orta—and his observations on the inhabitants, their industries and political condition. On leaving Switzerland for Austria he commented:—

“Directly the Austrian border is crossed every second man one meets is a soldier or policeman. Each peasant’s house has from four to ten soldiers quartered on it. Feldkirk was full of troops, and the people complained bitterly of the burden they are to the country. In

the little district of Vorarlberg alone are 25,000. Here too the vile paper money of Austria is first met. Just opposite the town rise the mountains of Appenzell, where dwells a happy, independent people. What a contrast to the cursed rule of Austria!"

Again, this time on entering France:—

"Nov 10th, 1850. Arrived at Vitry. . . . All the way from Strassburg a miserable, flat, uninteresting country. No fences, no neat farms, not a single gentleman's house, the inhabitants like those of all the rest of France a dirty, ill-looking, miserable race. The men all wear blouses, the women dirty caps. The villages and cottages are dirty, ill-built and uncivilized in appearance. What a contrast to neat, comfortable, well-regulated Germany!"

On November 1st he had noted:—

"Munich lighted to-day for the first time with gas."

My Father spent three weeks at Yateley at Christmas, but remained for the most part in London for the next eight months, taking part vigorously in all that was going on, attending a Levée, a Drawing-room, operas, theatres, balls public and private, exhibitions, races, lunches and dinners, going for walks and excursions, frequently dining at the house of, or walking and riding in the Park with, his favourite sister, Agnes, Mrs. Serrell. On July 24th there is an amusing entry in the small diary:—

"Went to the Promenade at the Botanic gardens. It turned out very wet. Great fun to see the ladies rushing away with their dresses over their heads, exposing generally very thick ankles and large feet."

At the end of July he went to Holland. There he was impressed especially by the universal habit of tea-drinking at all hours, and the way in which beautiful houses and gardens were surrounded by stagnant, stinking ditches and canals, quoting Beckford: "Every flower that wealth can purchase diffuses its perfume on one side, whilst every stench a canal can exhale poisons the air on the other."

He found Amsterdam a dirty, ill-built town, without fine

buildings, streets or shops, with bad hotels and an abundance of vile odours.

After pleasurably renewing his acquaintance with the cities of southern Germany, he was delighted with the first of many visits to the Bavarian mountains and the Salzkammergut, his enthusiasm for Berchtesgaden and the Königssee in particular being unbounded. For his own satisfaction he devoted many pages of his diary to an account of the salt-mines near Berchtesgaden and Hallein, which, he was told, had been worked for nearly thirteen hundred years. It is noteworthy that even in 1850 most of the miners, of whom there were some hundreds, only worked six hours a day. The good manners and piety of the people of Berchtesgaden made no less strong an impression than the beauty of their surroundings. At the sound of the Angelus all the people out of doors would go down on their knees by the roadside and repeat their evening prayers, while those within doors would collect for family prayer, and even in the public rooms at the inns every person would stand silent and motionless during the ringing of the Vesper Bell.

At Gratz he was surprised and gratified to find in a magazine a translation of his paper on Torun Mal. With his friend E. Evans he stayed for three weeks at Vienna, and thence they proceeded to Venice to join two other friends, Wells and Frederick Weatherley, who was killed with his son in 1879 in a fight with the Zulus.

As a record of prices more than eighty years ago where there were no railways, it is of interest to find that they paid only two hundred francs for a carriage and four horses and all hotel bills between Padua and Florence, a journey which occupied five days—i.e. for hotel and travelling expenses only ten francs a day per head!

The first day's journey was to the river Po. Here

“we were arrested and detained all night at a miserable village by the Papal authorities, who declared that our passports, though *viséed* by the Austrian Commandant of Venice did not authorize us to enter the Pope's dominions. We could get no dinner, and there

was only one bed between us. We cursed the Pope and cardinals and fell asleep—a lucky catch for His Holiness' lean fleas. Only after much remonstrance was I permitted to send a letter to the Cardinal Legate at Ferrara, asking permission to proceed. The next morning I received a reply from the Cardinal written on the back of my letter, stating that 'i supplicanti' might come to Ferrara, but must immediately on arrival there surrender themselves to the papal police. As we could get no conveyance to Ferrara, distant seven miles, we walked there in a torrent of rain, having had nothing to eat since the previous morning, and on reaching Ferrara, instead of going to the Police Office, we called on the Austrian General to complain of the infamous treatment we had received, and of the disrespect shown to the Austrian Authority. At this time the Austrians held military possession of the Papal Legations of Ferrara and Bologna. No one can now form any idea of what a bitter curse Papal Government was to those unfortunate countries."

The travellers arrived at Florence on November 9th in a heavy snowstorm, and to cheer their spirits went to the opera *Sonnambula*. The prima donna was hissed off the stage and the primo tenore was taken to prison.

With Captain Evans, Rigby took apartments on the Lung' Arno, and there remained five months studying Italian and reading the Italian classics. He thoroughly enjoyed his "sojourn in this gay little capital," and always looked back to this period as one of the happiest of his life. Florence was then occupied by an Austrian garrison, to the intense disgust of the inhabitants, who were engaged in frequent quarrels with the soldiers. The Grand Duke was a weak, but kind-hearted man, who gave frequent balls at the Pitti Palace to which the English visitors were always invited. Prince Demidoff also gave very splendid balls and dinners at his magnificent villa on San Donato. Many an afternoon was spent by the young officers walking with friends, especially with Lord Methuen, in the Cascine or on the surrounding hills, and nearly every evening they attended the Opera—at which a private box enabled them to make some return to their hosts and hostesses by inviting them to it—a dinner, reception, ball or whist-party at the houses of Lord Methuen, General Erskine, General Farquharson, Baron and

Baroness Huegel, Lady Stannus, Countess Hartenburg, Lady Dunsany, Lady Walpole, Prince Lichtenstein, Count Zichy, Prince Demidoff, Sir John Orde, etc. Their comrades and friends, Wells and Weatherley, remained in Florence at the same time. The following extracts from the diary will show what a pleasant social life was enjoyed:—

“Jan. 1st 1852. Walked in the Cascine. Dined with Wells, Evans and Weatherley at the Ville de Paris. Went at 9.30 with General Farquharson to the Court Ball. Home at 2.30.

“5th Took a long walk on the Volterra road with Lord Methuen, Lord Malden and Wells.

“Went at 9 to Lord Methuen’s. Played whist till 2 with Lord M., Lord Malden, Capel and W. Ashley.

“6th Called on Lady Stannus. Dined with Lord Methuen and went to a party at the Hardings. Home at 2.30.

“7th Dined at Sir J. Orde’s. A large party and dancing after.

“12th Dined with Lady Dunsany. A large party in the evening.

“14th Dined with General Farquharson, and went to the Ball at the Grand Duke’s afterwards. Home at 3 a.m.

“30th Called on the Hardings, etc. The opera *Lucrezia Borgia* with a new Prima Donna.

“Lady Walpole and Mrs Jenner in our box.

“31st Took a long walk with Lady Stannus.

“Feb 3rd Went to Prince Demidoff’s Ball. Home at 4. Read Coleridge’s *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*, and Shelley’s *Revolt of Islam* and *Queen Mab* and *The Cenci*.

“5th Called on Prince Demidoff. Went to the Band at the Cascine. Dined with Lord Methuen. Played whist and won 105 Paoli. Afterwards to Lady Walpole’s.

“20th Went out to Prince Demidoff’s villa at Quattro. Everything extremely handsome and everything English. Saw a picture of a lady of the Frescobaldi who had 52 children, three at a time. Went to Prince Liechtenstein’s reception, and afterwards to Lord Methuen’s. Home at 2 a.m.”

In May he spent a week or two in Paris, and in June and July he was again in London. In August he took his sister Agnes for a tour in Switzerland. Travels and visits in England filled the autumn weeks. Liverpool he described as “a poor, uninteresting town, like a dirty slice of London.” Early in

1853 he spent a month in Paris with Evans. In March he went to Corsham Court on a visit to Lord Methuen. In May he travelled with Sir Henry Howard, Minister to Brazil, and Lady Howard, through Cologne, Hanover, etc., to Berlin, where they dined with Lord Blomfield at the Embassy and met the Ministers of Russia, Baden and Hesse Cassel. Next he visited Copenhagen, which, though picturesque, had a gloomy, poverty-stricken appearance. The pavements were frightful, the dust intolerable, the shops wretched, the smells abominable. But he was charmed with the scenery of the Swedish canals, rivers and lakes with their forests and islands seen on the journey of over eight hundred miles from Gothenburg to Stockholm. At this time hotels were unknown in Sweden, so he hired apartments. The Swedes he described as a fine-looking people, and very kind and polite. They ate quantities of raw fish, raw ham and raw salmon, and drank brandy, ale and new milk one after the other. They looked much cleaner than Germans or French, but in their houses their domestic arrangements were filthy. w.c's were unknown; old barrels or tubs with cross-sticks were the substitute. Though he only stayed in Stockholm a fortnight, he took Swedish lessons and worked hard at the language in spite of social claims. On the way to Russia, Abo and Helsingfors were visited, and bathing in the Baltic in the lovely June weather was greatly enjoyed.

CHAPTER III

RUSSIA, 1853

RIGBY reached Petersburg on June 21st to find that his friend Evans¹ had arrived from Naples three hours before him. On a drive the first evening what specially impressed him was the size of the public buildings, the bad pavements, the dusty roads, the pretty wooden country houses resembling Indian bungalows, and the profusion of flowers and hothouse plants. A great number of people were assembled in a public garden listening to a band, the officers all muffled up in ugly grey cloaks, the ladies richly dressed in all the most gaudy colours, but generally very ill-looking. The people all looked unhealthy, very sallow and cadaverous, with weak eyes and bad teeth.

The first days were spent in sight-seeing, partly under the guidance of Dr Murphy, the Emperor's Physician. The heat in Russia throughout the visit was even more trying than in India, and the glare of the white buildings very painful to the eyes, but the nights with their long twilight were altogether enjoyable. Several evenings were spent most pleasantly with our Ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, and Lady Seymour, at their country house ten miles from the city.

On the 28th, arrayed in full-dress uniform, accompanied by an English servant who could talk Russian, the two friends set out for the Imperial Palace at Tzarskoe Celo, having been invited by the Emperor Nicholas I (1825-1855) to attend the Grand Manœuvres.² On arriving at the Palace they met Count Kielmansegge of the Hanoverian Army and Count Luxberg of

¹ W. Edwyn Evans joined the Service in 1835, and was appointed to the 1st European Regiment (Fusiliers) in India. His brothers, J. L. Evans (16th N.I., 1839) and Henry Lloyd Evans (17th N.I., 1837), were also intimate friends. All three retired as Colonels. Two were nicknamed in India "Dismal Jim" and "Doleful Bill."

² I have abbreviated but little the accounts of the Manœuvres and Cadets in the belief that they will be interesting to students of military history in view of the near approach of the Crimean War.

the Bavarian Army, who had also received invitations. The Palace servants conducted the visitors to the suites of rooms prepared for them, and at half-past ten to the supper hall, where they found the officers of the Court and the Emperor's Staff assembled. Each was presented with a printed programme of the Manœuvres and a large Russian map of the surrounding country. After strolling about the gardens of the Palace with Prince Yazimski, the A.D.C. who had been appointed to attend them, they went to bed at midnight.

Next morning they were up at five and after breakfast drove in a Court carriage with four horses to a place eight miles off where they expected to find their horses, but after being driven a long distance beyond it and across country, over ploughed fields and very rough ground into another road, passing the pickets and advanced posts of the Enemy's camp, they had to return, giving up all hope of seeing any of the Manœuvres that day. But on arrival at the Palace after a long tedious dusty drive back, they there found the missing animals. They immediately mounted and started at a hard gallop to overtake the Emperor. Evans' horse, an English thoroughbred, bolted with him for several miles, and he made no further appearance until near the close of the day's operations. Rigby, riding with Kielmansegge and Luxberg, met the Emperor advancing towards them. Count Orloff introduced him and then left him alone with the Czar, who talked to him for about twenty minutes on various subjects connected with India, asking particularly about the organization of our Native Army, the fortifications of Aden, our treatment of cholera, etc.

The Emperor himself was closely concerned with the Manœuvres, for it was he who gave a general outline of what was intended. But the actual movements and details he left to the Generals commanding. Much of the interest depended upon the science and tactics displayed by them. The troops engaged numbered 110,000 Infantry, with 25,000 Cavalry and 220 guns, and they occupied a line extending fifteen miles. Little was visible but the Cossack patrols with their long lances

scouring the country, and the Artillery drawn up on all commanding points. The country being thickly wooded, most of the troops were concealed, so that neither Army could tell the strength of the force opposed to it. After some hours' manœuvring the two Armies began to concentrate around Tzarskoe Celo, where a battle took place which ended in the evacuation of the town by the Army of the West. Both Armies bivouacked for the night a few versts from each other. The visitors returned to the Palace at two o'clock to find a sumptuous lunch prepared, followed at 4 p.m. by a dinner for fifty guests, comprising most of the Generals, Ministers and members of the Emperor's Staff. Among them were Count Orloff, Minister of Police, Count Adelsberg, Minister of the Palace, Prince Radziwill, Prince Galatzin, Prince Paskievitch, Count Liesen. After dinner carriages were provided to drive to gardens where a band was playing, and a great number of ladies were present, who stared with interest at the two scarlet uniforms. After supper at the Palace at 10 p.m. Rigby strolled about the Park with Count Kielmansegge.

Next day he and Evans again started at 6.30 in a carriage-and-four and this time found their horses without difficulty with the Headquarters Staff. They mounted and awaited the Emperor's arrival. In a few minutes he drove up, mounted his horse, and rode straight up to Rigby, saying, "*Faites-moi le plaisir de me présenter votre camarade.*" After a few minutes' conversation, they advanced together along the road, each body of the troops as the Czar passed saluting him with, "We wish your Majesty good morning." To which he replied, "I thank you, my children." This continued for several miles. Later in the day the Chief of the Medical Staff approached the British officers saying that the Emperor had desired him to ask them about the treatment of cholera in India, as it was then very bad in the camp. Most of the operations of the day took place in woods, and at one time Rigby was lost in the middle of a regiment of Hussars which was retreating through a thick forest of pines. On reaching a fine open plain he found it a

magnificent sight to see the advance of the Cavalry—Lancers, Hussars, Dragoons, with the Horse Artillery. The day's operations again terminated about two o'clock, and Rigby and Evans went to another of the Emperor's palaces where apartments had been prepared for them to which their luggage had been removed. But the Emperor himself bivouacked with his troops on the field, occupying a small tent just like those of other officers. Rigby and Evans were introduced to the Colonel of the Preobajenski Regiment of Guards, who took them through the ranks of his regiment, consisting of men not under six foot five in stature. Then General de Berg, the Chief of the Staff, visited them at the Palace and expressed the gratification the Emperor felt at seeing English officers attending the Manœuvres and the high opinion he had of our Indian Army. He conversed for a considerable time about India, Central Asia, and the Russian system of organization in newly conquered provinces. After supper, while the two Englishmen were strolling round the camp, the alarm gun was fired, and in less than five minutes the whole Army was under arms and moving into position.

On the third day, July 1st, the programme of operations was a decisive battle near Krasnoe Celo, and the retreat of the Army of the West on Poudost. Long before the guests started at 6.30 a.m., the columns of Cavalry and Infantry were marching through the town to take up their positions on the field of battle, which was a vast plain extending for many miles, and terminating on the right in thick woods. In front it was bounded by rising ground with patches of wood. The crest of this range was strongly fortified, and defended by the Artillery of the Army of the West. Their skirmishers were scattered through the woods on both flanks, and several battalions were posted in a village in the centre of the position. Behind the crest of the hill on the right the main body was posted with the Brigade of Cuirassiers. The battle commenced on the left by the advance of the Hussar Brigade covered by Cossack Light Cavalry, but after advancing some distance the

heavy fire from the Enemy's Artillery compelled them to retreat. In the meantime the Right advanced and became hotly engaged with the Enemy's Left. The whole of the Cavalry and Horse Artillery then moved along the rear, and advancing against the Enemy's Right flank compelled it to retreat. It was here that the most interesting part of the Manœuvres occurred, nearly 50,000 men being engaged on each side. The charges of Cavalry were magnificent. The Infantry advanced in squares, firing as they advanced, and rapidly re-forming whenever the Enemy's Cavalry wheeled round and threatened to charge. The Artillery was posted between the intervals of the Cavalry Brigades. The firing lasted for nearly two hours, when the Army of the West having turned the Enemy's flank and cut him off from Krasnoe Celo, he was forced to retreat with all his forces, and the battle was declared lost.

At this moment the rain came down in torrents, so that everyone was thoroughly drenched through in a few minutes. This rain lasted for about an hour. In the meantime the two Armies had united and formed a vast line extending for nearly four miles, the columns of Infantry in front, the Cavalry and Artillery on the rising ground behind. The Emperor himself dressed the points of alignment. When the entire line of 110,000 men was formed, he gave the signal and the whole line advanced, the bands playing the National Anthem. The troops were then halted, and the Emperor called to the front the Grand Duke Héritier (afterwards Emperor), who was in command of the whole force, and embraced him in token of his satisfaction. Then he thanked the troops for their good conduct, and the whole vast mass responded with one voice, "We thank Your Majesty." The bands again played, the men all singing the Anthem. They then returned to the camp, and the Manœuvres were at an end, having been very much curtailed in consequence of the outbreak of cholera and the very wet weather which had set in. But Rigby had seen enough to be very deeply impressed. He had never seen a finer body of men. The Cavalry were splendidly mounted, and the Infantry

marched admirably in spite of the fact that each man carried a weight equivalent to 80 lb. English. All the men looked strong and well-nourished.

After the battle, while the Armies were being placed in line, the Emperor sent for him, and talked for a considerable time about the organization of the Army. He inquired about our irregular troops in India, and asked whether they retained their own native costume, saying that although the Russian irregular troops in the Caucasus were very obedient and easy to discipline, yet he had found it impossible to introduce the Russian dress among them and had now given up all attempts to do so. He asked also about the camp at Chobham, and when Rigby said that we could never see more than 10,000 troops assembled in England or India, said he wished he could say the same, but that in his country large armies were necessary. He expressed his deep regret at the cholera which had broken out in the camp, and said that sixteen men had died of it the previous day. He also said that the present system of manoeuvring large bodies of troops was introduced into the Russian Army by the Emperor Alexander at the suggestion of Marshal Wellington, and that under it 300,000 men can be moved just as easily as 100,000. When the troops advanced to salute him, his manner to all was kind and gentle, with an entire absence of hauteur or commanding tone. It was a stirring and affecting sight to see the immense body of men saluting the Emperor whom they adored as their father.

On their return to Petersburg, the foreign officers were taken over the College of Cadets of the First Corps. The 550 Cadets in this College were all the sons of generals and colonels, or of civilians of corresponding rank, the sons of officers being educated at the Emperor's expense. In each dormitory were ninety beds, and an officer was on duty in each day and night. The rooms were neat and clean. The boys entered at about eight years of age, and all were obliged to learn, among other subjects, French, German and Dancing. If they passed their leaving examinations they obtained commissions in the Guards, or

were sent to the Engineers or Artillery Schools, but if they failed they were sent to Garrison Battalions.

The poor boys, condemned to so unnatural a life from such an early age, all looked spiritless and unhealthy. They had no games, and seldom went out at any time, while in winter they were cooped up in the rooms for six months without ever going into the fresh air. Some fifty of them were Circassians and Persians, sons of chiefs and hostages. These were all Moham-medans, and not permitted to change their religion or to receive commissions in the Guards. They retained their native dress. They were placed in Line Regiments on leaving, and were not allowed to return to the Caucasus until they had attained the rank of Colonel. These Eastern boys looked particularly unhealthy, and the mortality among them was high. They suffered much in particular from scrofula and sore eyes. Cadets were punished by flogging, soldiers operating.

A few days later Rigby and Evans went to see the Cadets from all the colleges march out to their camp at Peterhof. First came a regiment of Lancers composed of Persian and Circassian youths of noble birth. Then a corps of Horse Artillery Cadets, Engineer Cadets, the Corps of Noble Pages, and then the Infantry Cadet Battalions, amounting in all to about 6,000 in number, forming a miniature army fully armed and equipped. They were all drawn up in line to receive the Emperor, who on his arrival rode straight up to Rigby and asked in English—this being the only occasion on which he heard the Czar speak English—“Why have you not come on horseback? Why are you on foot?” Rigby replied that they had driven out from the city, as they had no riding horses. The Emperor replied, “Oh, as long as you are in Russia the same horses you had at the Reviews are kept ready for you.” Then he spoke in praise of the Cadets, saying, “I do love my Cadets. They are good boys.”

On the Emperor's birthday, July 7th, the two Englishmen again visited Peterhof in order to go through the Cadets' camp after they had settled down. They found everything admirably

arranged, and the Cadets practising all the camp duties of an army in the field. Rigby talked in Persian to some of the Circassians.

He was surprised to learn at Peterhof that the Emperor never occupied the beautiful palace, but lived in a small villa in the park, in a most simple and retired manner, no one being allowed to enter his private gardens, not even the Ministers.

The wealth and the vastness of the city and its institutions at this time were extraordinarily impressive. The gardens of the rich in the environs of the city were filled with tropical trees and plants, the fruit-shops on the Nevsky Prospect with melons, grapes, peaches, nectarines. It took three and a half hours merely to walk through the Hermitage with its forty rooms filled with pictures by celebrated artists, and its collections of malachite, jasper, beryl, of coins, statuary and works of art of every kind. At the École des Mines four specimens were valued at over £11,000, a lump of gold weighed 80 lb., and one of malachite 400 lb. At the Church of St. Isaac the cost of the piles on which it was built alone had been £200,000. The tomb of Saint Alexander Nevsky was of massive silver weighing a ton and a half. The Winter Palace was inhabited by six thousand persons and its Diamond Room contained jewels of fabulous value. Not the least impressive of the "sights" was the State Foundling Hospital with its thousand nurses and two thousand babies, kept in the Hospital from their birth there till one year old and then sent to the Crown villages in the neighbourhood of the city. Thirty-four thousand children were being brought up and educated from the funds of this one institution. They were all free (i.e. not serfs), and were allowed to select the employment for which they would be trained. In connection there was a school for eight hundred noble girls, and one for one thousand two hundred daughters of shopkeepers and poorer people. Noble girls educated for governesses remained in the school until they were twenty years of age. They looked very happy and well-nourished, and many of them were remarkably pretty. Everything in the

institution was admirably arranged, and each well-furnished, comfortable bedroom contained a grand piano. The expenses of the whole vast establishment amounted to about one million sterling per annum. It had immense landed estates, and a monopoly of the duty on playing-cards.

Even the members of the *Corps du Ballet* were educated and supported by the State. They occupied a fine palace on an island on which no one was allowed to land. They were obliged to dance for a certain number of years, during which they were not allowed to marry.

Besides the sightseeing, Rigby much enjoyed his daily swim in the Neva and various social engagements, especially the evenings with Sir Hamilton and Lady Seymour, and meetings with the Swedish Consul-General, and with General de Berg and General Outchakoff, the possessor of the royal sceptre of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, and of an immense drinking-horn carved by Peter the Great out of an elephant's tusk. His estates in Siberia covered six thousand square versts, with twelve thousand peasants. One of the richest nobles in Russia, he was at the same time one of the most hospitable and liberal-minded. He talked with special interest of Russian enterprise in China. General de Berg showed Rigby and Evans over the huge establishments of the *État Major*. Here they saw very perfect plans and maps of Peking, Central Asia, the Caucasus, Poland, Moldavia, Turkey, and models of all the great modern battle-fields, etc.

On July 11th the friends travelled by the new railway in twenty-two hours to Moscow. The Chief Superintendent of the Line, a Major Brown, informed them it cost seventeen millions sterling, or £40,000 per mile. When the plans were laid before the Emperor they were framed to embrace all the great towns, but he took a pencil and drew a straight line, insisting on the railway line following it, over bogs and morasses, all the way to Moscow, passing through but one town of any note, Tver on the Volga, on its course of four hundred and fifty-two miles.

Among the impressions of the first day in Moscow were the following:—

“ . . . forests of gilt and painted domes and cupolas, gold, silver, blue and green, gilt and painted eagles and crosses. . . .”

“The money-changers in the bazaars are all eunuchs.”

“The gypsies were wearing white kid gloves.”

“The ladies all smoke cigarettes in public.”

“When drinking tea the Russians do not mix the sugar in the tea, but carry a lump in the waistcoat pocket and nibble off a little piece with each draught of tea. This is done for economy, as sugar is very dear. Good tea costs 12 roubles (36s.) per lb.”

Here too the Foundling Hospital was visited, an establishment which had received 354,000 children since its foundation in 1764. There were seven hundred wet-nurses all dressed alike in the Russian costume, and “all frightfully ugly.” The boys all became Crown peasants or soldiers, and the girls “governesses, actresses, *danseuses*, washerwomen, etc.” In addition seven hundred sons and seven hundred daughters of poor nobles received free education under the same foundation. Not one of the girls was pretty (!) and the style of the place appeared very inferior to that of the Petersburg establishment.

In the Chapel of the “Iberian Mother of God” was seen a dirty, black picture of the Mother and Child covered with pearls and other jewels. A carriage-and-four was maintained for the service of this picture, and its income amounted to £40,000 per annum, derived from fees for being conveyed to the houses of people who were ill or about to travel. Numbers of people were praying to it and prostrating themselves before it. “Such,” exclaimed Rigby, “is Christianity in Russia!—not one bit superior to the most degraded idolatry and superstition of the most barbarous and savage races of the world. Even the Emperor when he visits Moscow gets up in the night to go and pray to this picture.”

The scenery in the neighbourhood of the Seminoff Monastery he found very like that of some parts of India. The view from

this point over the city was magnificent one evening at sunset—"like one of Turner's pictures."

On the return journey to Petersburg, he travelled with Madame Outchakoff, who had shown him much pleasant hospitality during his stay in Moscow, and her children, tutor and governess. In accordance with a curious superstition of the country, this lady was wearing in a handsome gold bracelet a piece of a rope with which a man had been hanged.

As he was entrusted with dispatches from the Embassy to the Foreign Office, he travelled back to England without stopping, a long and fatiguing journey, for in those days it took as long as forty hours to reach London from Hamburg.

After a few days he revisited the Lake District, not forgetting the school in which he had passed three years of misery, and Yorkshire, and then took his sister Agnes to northern Italy, Switzerland and Paris, where they remained until November. Next he visited the manufacturing districts of England, including in his tour Manchester, Altrincham and Bowdon, Liverpool and Chester. The early winter was passed with his sister at Brighton.

CHAPTER IV

PERSIA, 1854-1858

IN February Rigby left London with dispatches for the Embassy at Constantinople. A non-stop journey to Vienna then required three and a half days, and the voyage from Trieste, calling at Corfu, Athens, Smyrna, Gallipoli, etc., occupied nine. He spent a fortnight at Constantinople, four days in Cairo, and arrived at Bombay on April 24th, there rejoining his Regiment as Second in Command. Soon after, he was appointed President of the Civil and Military Examination Committee for native languages. His recreation was now the study of Turkish. When the Russian War began, he was offered the appointment of Superintendent of Land Transport in Turkish Arabia, to proceed to Bagdad, but declined, preferring to take his chance of Staff employment in India. For nine months his choice seemed but disadvantageous, for his Regiment was moved to Kurrachee, then a dismal, miserable place, with nothing to relieve the dull routine of garrison life,¹ in contrast to the pleasant society he had enjoyed in Bombay, where he was frequently the guest of Lord Elphinstone at Government House, and had many old friends. In August 1855, however, he was appointed Superintendent of Bazaars and Police at Poona. After a journey of over a week, he assumed charge there, took a house, bought a carriage, horses and furniture, and looked forward to remaining quietly in his appointment until his Service days were over. It was not to be. After one single week, he was ordered to proceed immediately to Bombay to embark for the Persian Gulf on secret service.

On September 19th he left Bombay on the steam frigate

¹ One of his brother officers amused himself with the new art of amateur photography. Rigby wrote in a letter at this time, "J. shows you a bit of glass all smeared as if with smoke of a candle, and then gets very indignant if you don't think it a first-rate photograph, and points out horses and figures where no one else can see a shadow of them."

Feroze in command of several officers of the Commissariat and Quartermaster-General's Departments in order to make preparations for the invading army about to be dispatched to Bushire.¹

On landing at that port on the 27th he found the town in a very excited state at the news of approaching hostilities. At the Residency he found a message from the Persian Governor that the garrison was no longer under his control and would, he feared, massacre every European. The Resident advised the new-comers to re-embark, if possible, without delay. The officers returned to the quay, where they already found a very

¹ In 1853 the British Government imposed on Persia a treaty by the terms of which Persia engaged "not to send troops on any account to the territory of Herat, excepting when troops from without attack the place." Russia made secret proposals to Persia to secure her co-operation against Turkey, but her Government decided not to commit her definitely to so dangerous a course. The final breach with Great Britain in 1855 had a trifling cause. Our Minister broke off relations, but nothing happened for months, until in the spring of 1856 a Persian army marched on Herat, besieged it, and in October captured the city. Great Britain was forced, most reluctantly, to declare war. "Few wars have resembled that which followed. The usual question is how to injure an enemy most effectively, but on this occasion the efforts of our statesmen were directed to securing the evacuation of Herat without inflicting a heavy blow on Persia. . . . It was finally decided to operate in the Persian Gulf and at Mohamera, and in the first instance to occupy the island of Kharak." The immediate arrangements for organizing the expedition were entrusted to Lord Elphinstone. In October Captain Wray, A.Q.G., had been sent to spy out the land, and he actually attempted to map out the fortifications of Bushire with all his survey instruments. But this was more than the Resident's sense of propriety could permit, and he and his companions had to re-embark. The fighting force sent to the Gulf numbered 5,670, of which 2,270 were Europeans, with 3,750 followers, 1,150 horses and 430 bullocks. Kharak was seized on December 4th, and next day the fleet anchored off Bushire. The Persian Governor was surprised at its arrival, for the declaration of war (Calcutta, November 1st) had not yet reached him.

The Persian Government sued for peace directly after the capture of the city on December 10th. By the terms of the Treaty, eventually concluded in Paris, the Shah agreed to evacuate Afghanistan and recognize its independence. "The Persians were amazed, and with reason, at British magnanimity in exacting no guarantee, no indemnity and no concession. . . . From the British point of view, relations with Persia became better after the war, which Persians seldom refer to with bitterness; and as the Indian Mutiny broke out a few weeks later, it was fortunate that no British troops were locked up in Persia or Afghanistan." See Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia* (1921), vol. ii, pp. 348-351, and an unsigned article by Captain Ballard, in *Blackwood*, September 1861.

excited mob calling for the death of the English. Fortunately they were able to make their way unobserved from the rear, scrambled on board a boat which had just arrived with their camp equipment from the *Feroze*, and got out of gunshot before the Persians had recovered from their surprise at their presence on shore at all. In accordance with his instructions Rigby with the other Staff officers then landed (October 2nd) at Bassadore on the island of Kishm, while the *Feroze* returned to Bombay to report. The little party of officers were thus left to their own resources on a desert island, cut off from all communication with the mainland by the hostility of the Persians, with no wine or beer—then regarded as almost essentials of life—and hardly any food either for themselves or their horses. The heat was terrific, and after enduring fifty-four days protected only by the walls of their tents, suffering from parching winds, dust-storms and semi-starvation, Rigby gave permission to the other officers to leave if they wished. In the result he was left quite alone. He had great difficulty in procuring food, and every morning had to wander about the island in order to shoot a rock-pigeon or to find a fish on the beach, or possibly purchase some from a stray fisherman. But at length a Government steamer arrived and took him to the rendezvous of the fleet off Bunder Abbas at the mouth of the Gulf. On reporting himself to General Stalker, in command of the Force, he found that he had been appointed Superintendent of Bazaars and Police with the Field Force, whilst the General also appointed him to his personal Staff as Persian Interpreter.

The Force landed at Halilah Bay on December 8th, bivouacked for the night, and next day took by storm the strong fort of Rashire, the British loss consisting of Colonel George Malet, commanding the 3rd Light Cavalry, and three other officers and about thirty men killed. The Force again bivouacked for the night, and on the morning of the 10th advanced to Bushire, which surrendered after a heavy bombardment from the ships and a short attack on the land defences. The Governor came out and was made prisoner, and the General thereupon directed

Rigby to go into the city and pacify the inhabitants, and arrange for the garrison of about two thousand soldiers to march out next morning. When he entered the place and saw the excited state of the crowds in the narrow streets and the fierce scowls of the soldiers, he never expected to leave it alive. With a revolver in his hand, he rode first to the house of the High Priest, whom he instructed to pacify the inhabitants and assure them of protection to life and property, if no outrages were committed. He desired him also to inform the men of the garrison that if they remained quiet, they would be allowed to depart next day with their arms and personal baggage, which they did. Next the question arose, How was this populous city to be governed? Not the slightest preparation for such a situation had been made by the Bombay authorities. Not a policeman, not a pair of handcuffs, nothing in the way of an office establishment had been sent with the Force. In these circumstances the General asked Rigby if he would consent to take charge of the city as Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, and he accepted on condition that he should not be hampered with rules and regulations, but allowed to administer justice as he considered best adapted to the difficult conditions.

Next day he engaged a house, erected a flagstaff and established a Police Office, himself being the only Policeman! He immediately issued a notice liberating all slaves and forbidding the sale of liquor to our soldiers and sailors. There being no gaol, summary punishment by public flogging was the only resource. He at once set about enlisting Persians to form a Police Corps, and by the first opportunity ordered from Bombay uniform and equipment for two hundred men. The uniform was a long dark green cloth coat in Persian fashion, with green trousers, red fez cap, belt and staff. "My Police," he wrote in January, "are capital men, most of them belonging to the Tribes which fought against us, but out of the whole, Jemadars and Havildars included, there is not a man who can write his name, so I can't get anyone to act as Orderly of them, or make out their roll, etc., and I have to make out every little account

myself." British laws and ideas of justice had never before been administered in any Persian city, and work was arduous and incessant, but he soon got the city into order. His chief difficulty was with the Jews and Armenians. There had been no liquor law, everyone was at liberty to distil as much spirit as he chose, and every courtyard of a Jewish or Armenian family was occupied by large vats used for distilling. Rigby went round each morning with several of his men armed with long poles with which they smashed the vats, allowing the contents to run into the gutters. Anyone proved guilty of selling spirits to the soldiers was tied to the wheel of a gun-carriage in front of the main gate and punished with four dozen lashes.

Complaints were made by Armenian ladies that they were unable to appear in the streets during the day as they were insulted by the Persians. To put a stop to this, Rigby procured the disguise of a lady, i.e. high yellow boots, loose trousers, a large black yashmak covering the body. He mixed with a party of Armenian ladies, and followed by two of his policemen also in disguise, armed with a hidden rope and cat-o'-nine-tails, strolled through the main streets. Any Persian using insulting language found himself suddenly seized from behind, tied up to the nearest door-post and receiving two dozen lashes. This soon put a stop to the annoyance of Armenian and Jewish ladies.

Another amusing, but rather risky, duty was going about in disguise at night to suppress gambling. And mixing with the people in the coffee-houses to ascertain their feelings towards the English.

Cleaning the city in its more material aspects was yet another task. On arrival the streets were found filled with an accumulation of the refuse of years. Dogs and cats and snakes swarmed. But the policemen enlisted from among our so recent enemies soon became efficient at every task, and all was soon altered. They got the old streets cleaned and improved, and new streets laid out. The Persians had fortified Bushire with a very lofty and thick wall on the sea face, with large round towers at intervals. Rigby had the wall levelled, and formed a broad,

handsome terrace by the sea, with the towers transformed into dwelling-houses. In a short time the whole town assumed quite a different appearance. So satisfied was Sir James Outram when he arrived to assume the chief command of the Persian Expedition that he applied to the Governor-General to appoint Rigby Assistant Civil Commissioner for Bushire and all territory conquered from Persia in addition to his other duties, with a Staff salary of R. 500 a month. This was sanctioned, thus raising his pay to R. 1,500 per month.

On the departure of the main Field Force to Borasjoon, he was further appointed Military Commandant of Bushire. When Sir James Outram left with part of the Force for the Euphrates, at the urgent request of General Stalker he was left on that officer's Staff, his services being indispensable as he was the only officer who could speak Persian. Stalker promised that he should be no loser by the arrangement, but unfortunately he shortly afterwards committed suicide, as did also the Commander of the Naval contingent of the Expedition. Yet another duty which fell to Rigby's lot was the charge of all officers and soldiers taken prisoners by the Force. But he found the incessant hard work interesting and congenial, and was well contented to remain at Bushire until in September 1857 peace was made with Persia and the British troops were ordered to return to India with the exception of one Brigade. This was ordered to occupy the island of Karrack until Persia had fulfilled the stipulations of the Treaty by the evacuation of the city of Herat and all Afghan territory. Sir Robert Honnor was appointed Military Commandant of the island and Rigby Civil Commissioner, Magistrate and Superintendent of Bazaars and Police. The remainder of the Force, under Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, returned to Calcutta and was immediately engaged in the fighting of the Mutiny.

Now let us go back to some extracts from Rigby's account of this forgotten campaign as given in letters to his friend Joseph Miles, Quartermaster of Marines at Bombay, who afterwards retired with the rank of General.

"Dec. 14th. The general stands all the roughing it as well as any man in the Force. He is beloved by all. . . . The Government have provided for nothing except cutting and clipping everyone's pay in the most beggarly manner."

"Jan. 26th. The Persians are still encamped two marches off, and are trying to cut off our supplies. The Prince of Shiraz has joined them with eight more guns. . . . It is reported in Shiraz that the Russians have occupied Asterabad and have a large army on the Persian frontier, and the King seems determined to carry on the war as he has sent officers from Teheran to join the Camp. . . . Our Camp is now very strongly entrenched, with a good many of the Persian guns mounted."

"Feb. 12th. Outram arrived looking remarkably well, and was followed two or three days after by the Highlanders and 26th. The former caused an immense sensation marching through the town in their kilts. The Persians think they are our great warriors. On the evening of the 2nd our Force marched out to attack the Persian entrenched camp about forty miles off at Borasjoon. The Persians had received reinforcements and their force amounted to eight regiments of Infantry, 18 guns and four or five thousand irregular horse under the command of the Chief of the Eelyant Tribes. They evacuated their camp before our arrival, carrying off their guns, but their tents, ammunition, stores of grain, etc., were taken. They evidently wished to draw us after them into the mountains, but finding we did not follow them came back to make a night attack on us in their entrenched camp. But our troops had marched two hours previously to return here, so they followed and attacked our Rear Guard, the Eel Khani and his horse at the same time threatening the front. Our troops turned back, formed a square to protect the baggage and followers, and did not return a shot until daylight, when the whole Persian force was discovered formed up. Their Artillery fired very well, their Infantry showed some discipline, formed line, and kept up very good file firing, and formed square when threatened by our Cavalry. But the 3rd Cavalry charged right through their square, and our Artillery blazed at them with grape and canister. After an hour the Persians fled in confusion, throwing away their arms in hundreds. 700 were left dead, two guns and one standard taken. The fight was entirely confined to the Artillery and Cavalry on our side, for our Infantry never got near enough, but we lost several men by their Artillery in the night. The curious part was that so little idea had we that the Persians had brought up their guns that the whole night our men thought it was our own Artillery firing into them by mistake, and our bugles

kept sounding the Cease firing. At last the 64th and 20th bugles sounded together and the Persian Artillery ceased firing immediately, mistaking, it is supposed, the bugles for their own. The Persian Army must be completely disorganized; it has lost its ammunition, food, tents, and half the men have lost their arms, and in the mountains the weather must be awfully cold. The result has shown that the Persian troops can never stand against ours in the open field, and were it not for the natural difficulties to be encountered we might march through their country with a very moderate force. . . . I was left Commandant of Bushire whilst the Force was away. I was very much disappointed at being kept here, but Outram said I could not be spared from the Town, so there was no help for it. Our troops returned the day before yesterday, very much done up. They had no tents or private baggage, and the weather was awful. They marched 44 miles in 48 hours in deep mud with pouring rain. The next move is up to Mohummera, and thence advance to Shushter. Outram and all the Headquarter Staff and 2nd Division go, and Stalker remains here with the 1st Division. He has told Outram that he can't spare me, so I am to remain with him. I have remonstrated, but Stalker has promised me that I shall be no loser by the arrangement, so I must take my chance of luck. Last night information came in that 10,000 more men have arrived at Borasjoon from Shiraz, and the Commander of the King's Guards is commanding them. We only took two guns and spiked a third, so they have still 14 or 15. Some are 18-pounders. This will delay the Force going to Mohummera I fancy. Our pressing want here is more Cavalry. If Stalker's Division advances to Shiraz, it will be the best Force to be with, and as Outram has so many fellows about him, I shall be in a better position perhaps with Stalker. . . . My Police are going on very well, and I am carrying on all sorts of improvements in the town. I have lots of work all day, and it makes the time pass pleasantly. The Persians seem determined to prosecute the war, and are raising men and sending them to the south as fast as they can. At Mohummera they have five thousand, with eleven guns in position, and at Kermanshah eight thousand. There are 10,000 men at Shiraz, with a French Engineer officer, who deserted the siege of Herat. The only European known to be with them at Borasjoon was a Swedish doctor, but a man in European dress—red shell-jacket and blue pants—was found killed. Twenty Austrian officers have lately arrived at Teheran under the pretence of purchasing horses. I have just been translating for the General the Proclamation issued at Teheran announcing our having taken this place. It says that as strict orders had been given to the Persian authorities on the frontiers not to

oppose the British troops, we had landed and entered Bushire without opposition without giving any usual declaration of war. The *Teheran Gazette* is full of abuse of our 'perfidious conduct.' ”

Miles himself was sent to Persia for a time so the letters ceased. A further one is dated June 17th after his return to India:—

“ . . . A Persian Colonel came in yesterday, with an escort of Lancers very well equipped and Coordish Lancers in an Arab dress. The Colonel is a very smart-looking fellow, talks French, has been twice to Petersburg and wears a Russian Order. He looks as if he had just been figged out in Paris and sent off in a bandbox. Has boots, kid gloves, embroidered shirts, etc., quite perfect. . . . The Persians seem really anxious to cultivate friendship with us. . . . ”

In the same letter Rigby humorously describes an acquaintance as “an unhealthy-looking person, who seems as if he were begotten by a blue pill out of a black dose.”

In the Farewell General Order issued on the break-up of the Persian Expeditionary Force by General Jacob, then the Commander, he thus alluded to Rigby:—

“The services of this officer have been most valuable. He has very greatly improved the town of Bushire, and has maintained justice, peace, quiet, and excellent order among the inhabitants. His duties have been of a most delicate and important nature, he has been most zealous and industrious in their performance, and he is well worthy of a favourable notice.”

This was in an Order to the military portion of the Force. In acknowledging the services of the Political Officers he said:—

“Deep acknowledgments and warm thanks are most worthily due to Captain Felix Jones, Political Resident at Bushire, and to Captain Rigby, Superintendent of Police, etc. Their services and ready and effective aid and support have been from first to last of the greatest value, whilst the value of these services, however high in itself, has been enhanced by the cordial and obliging manner in which they have at all times been given.”

The Force remained six months in possession of the Island of Karrack, enjoying a pleasant, easy life, with picturesque surroundings, good-natured native neighbours, abundance of food and pure drinking-water. Before leaving, Rigby drew his Police up on the beach, gave each man a gratuity and a certificate, and as the British flag was replaced by the Persian absolved them from British dominion. Thus ended an Expedition for which he was the first to embark from India and the last to quit Persian territory. He was glad to be back in Bombay at the end of February 1858, as for some months he had suffered much from fever.

As this War seems to have found no historian, I append part of the dispatch from Major-General Foster Stalker, C.B., Commanding the Expeditionary Field Force.

“To the Adjutant General of the Army, Bombay.

“HEAD QUARTERS, FIELD FORCE, BUSHIRE

“*12th December, 1856*

“SIR,

“I have the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Commander in Chief, the complete success which, under the protection of Almighty God, has attended our arms. The British flag waves over the walls of Bushire. The place, infinitely stronger than I had any reason to believe from the information I had received, surrendered on the appearance of our Troops before it on the 10th instant. The previous day we had a smart affair in dislodging the enemy from a strong position they occupied in the old Dutch Fort of Reshire. The casualties on this occasion, though numerically small, were principally among the officers, and, I regret to say, included Brigadier Stopford and Lieutenant-Colonel Malet, 3rd Light Cavalry, killed; Captain Wood, Lieutenants Utterson and Warren, 20th Regiment, wounded, the two latter since dead (Captain Wood, though severely wounded, is doing well). The lesson the enemy received on this occasion, together with the bombarding of the works, the imposing appearance of the Troops in line, and of the Fleet, was doubtless the cause of their want of spirit, in surrendering the strongly fortified town of Bushire, in which we have found 59 guns, with large quantities of ammunition and warlike stores.

The Governor of the place, and the Commander of the Troops, came out and gave up their swords. They and one of the Principal officials are now in my Camp, and will be sent to Bombay. The garrison, to the number of 1,500 or 2,000 men (a large number having previously effected their escape, and very many others having been drowned in attempting to do so) grounded their arms in front of our line, and were next morning escorted by the Cavalry some distance into the country and set free. Every assistance and co-operation has been rendered by the Fleet, a heavy fire was opened in early morning and kept up spiritedly for some hours, till the place surrendered. At Reshire also, the previous day, all the co-operation possible was rendered by the Fleet. And my very best thanks are due to Sir Henry Leeke, the Officers and seamen, for their unwearied exertions in landing the Troops, which, owing to the absence of any other boats than those of the Fleet, was a work of much labour, occupying the greater part of two days and three nights. The Force landed at Hallila Bay, about 12 or 13 miles south of Bushire, without any serious opposition, a body of 300 or 400 men who appeared being scattered by the fire of the gunboats. There being no carriage cattle, the Troops were landed without tents or baggage of any description—three days' rations being carried in the haversacks. The hardships which the men have been called upon to undergo have been endured most cheerfully, and I cannot say too much in their praise. . . .”

After mentioning the officers who had distinguished themselves in the campaign, among them Captain Rigby as having rendered every possible assistance, General Stalker concludes :—

“In fine, nothing could have surpassed the admirable spirit exhibited by the Officers and men of all ranks, and the utmost praise is due for their zeal, devotion and gallantry.

“I have the honour to be, etc.

“(signed) F. STALKER, *Major General*

“Commanding Expeditionary Field Force”

CHAPTER V

ZANZIBAR. DIARY AND PERSONAL LETTERS, 1858-1861

A FEW days after his arrival in Bombay, Rigby was thrown from a carriage when the horses ran away down a steep hill, and was so severely injured that he was confined to his bed for two months and it was feared for some time that the amputation of one or both legs would be necessary. He never ceased to feel the effects of this accident. While laid up, he was appointed Political Agent at Zanzibar, but he was not able to move from his room until May, and was for a long time very weak and emaciated. On June 20th he left Bombay, arriving at the Island of Mahé, the chief of the Seychelles group, on July 8th. The ship remained in this port a fortnight, and later (1862) he wrote a Report to Government as a result of his observations. He was immensely impressed with the beauty of the scenery and vegetation, the abundance of fruits, pigs, poultry, turtle, manioc and other foodstuffs, the excellence of the climate, the good health and indolence of the inhabitants, who, he believed, never died of any complaint except new rum and idleness. But he was grieved at the decline in population and prosperity since the British Colonial Office had taken over the government from the French. The Commissioner gave him an official *déjeuner*, which the guests attended in evening dress to partake of turkey, fowls, stewed ducks, salads, pastry, champagne, curaçoa, etc., at 10 o'clock in the morning! His servants named the place "Bihisht" or Paradise.

He reached Zanzibar on July 27th, called on the Sultan the same day on board his flagship, and landed at 4 p.m. under a Royal Salute. The British Ensign was at the same time hoisted at the Consulate for the first time since the death of his predecessor, Colonel Hamerton. A few days later he paid an official visit to the Sultan to present to him a letter from the Queen congratulating him on succeeding to the throne. When the ship

which had brought him, H.M. Corvette *Falkland*, departed for the Persian Gulf, he was left the only Englishman at Zanzibar. He wrote to Miles:—

“The Sultan was very civil to the *Falkland*. He supplied the vessel every day with fresh meat, vegetables, wood, etc., and fruit for the whole crew, and filled her up with every requisite to the value of a thousand dollars to make good the Purser’s deficiencies in provisions. He would not allow anything to be paid for. He invited all the officers to a grand dinner, and we all attended in full dress. He gave a capital dinner in the European style, but only sherbet to drink. Yesterday I dined with the French Consul, M. Cochet. He has a French cook, and gave us a dinner that would have done credit to the Café de Paris, with about a dozen different sorts of wine. Mr O’Swald, a German merchant whose house is next to mine has also a French cook. The American Consul is a very good fellow, but he can’t speak a word of French, and the only language in which he can make himself understood to the French Consul is the Sowahili or negro language. Sunday is the fête-day of the Emperor Napoleon, and we all have to dine in Full Dress at the French Consulate. Tuesday I give my first big dinner to the Consuls, Mr and Mrs Rebmann¹ and some of the merchants. There is a good deal of formality kept up here, so I am ordering a Staff shell-jacket and waistcoat. All dinner-parties are in uniform.

“The climate is really delightful here now, the air is so clear and pure, and no heat all day. I take long rambles over the Island every morning. It is the very perfection of rich tropical scenery. Here nothing is dry and parched up as in India. The country is ever fresh and blooming, the ground, gently undulating for miles, is like a fine park, with soft green turf and clumps of large mango-trees, groves of oranges, cloves, etc. Ships are constantly arriving. My house is very comfortable, and always cheerful, being close to the sea, and the water is so deep that ships lie within a stone’s throw of my window. Fish is abundant and of great variety. Oysters are procurable. There is a French butcher. The butter is as rich as in England, owing to the good pasturage. The fowls are large, and sell eight for a dollar.

“The French have commenced the slave trade all along the coast on an immense scale. One merchant at Marseilles has contracted to land 25,000 slaves at Bourbon within two years. There is a French

¹ See chapter xiv.

ship here now full of slaves; they all wear a wooden ticket round the neck. A capital joke has occurred in connection with the trade. They pretend that it is not a slave trade, that the negroes are only *engagés* to serve for a term of years and go willingly. A ship lately left Comoro with 400 slaves on board, and 18 hours afterwards they all armed themselves with billets of firewood and attacked the French crew and drove them all into the boats. They gave them a severe beating, but did not kill any. The slaves then took the vessel and went away. The crew went in the boats to Comoro and came on here in a buggalow. The ship has been recovered in one of the Sultan's ports to the south. Everything though has been taken out of her. It just serves those rascally Frenchmen right. They have created such a demand for slaves that the price here is doubled. The old man I brought as butler is not of much use. He is too old and he does not seem to like the country. He is always exclaiming, 'Ya Khooda! what sort of a country is this my fate has brought me to where men and women are sold like sheep every day in the market, and a sheep sells for more than a man!'

"I have had to increase all my servants' pay beyond what I engaged them for in Bombay, for everything is very dear indeed here. Meat is quite as dear as in England. I have sent you two baskets of the best oranges. . . . We get immense lobsters here. My garden is flourishing; the potatoes grow very well."

In spite of the amount of official work awaiting him, Rigby, for health's sake, made time for long rambles on horseback or on foot or in one of his three boats. There was no shooting of any kind on the Island—not that he ever cared for it—but he delighted in observation of all around him. The fact that hens with their broods were found everywhere in the woods away from the dwellings of men showed there were few, if any, snakes, or beasts or birds of prey. Wild pigs were said to be numerous, but of course domestic ones on a Mohammedan island were unknown, and cattle, sheep and goats were but rare. There appeared to be neither foxes nor jackals, hares nor rabbits. Wild ducks and guinea-fowls were abundant. The chief fruits were oranges of many delicious varieties, bananas, mangoes, guavas, lychees, and pineapples, which grew wild, but large and of good flavour, in every hedgerow. No one seemed to have taken the trouble to introduce vegetables, so there were but

few, the most common being sweet potatoes, yams, spinach, radishes, a sort of pea and a good-flavoured bean. The wild flowers, particularly the blue lilies on the ponds, were beautiful. Rigby believed that if Zanzibar were cultivated, it would prove a mine of wealth, for almost every tropical plant and tree could be grown to perfection. The nutmeg-tree was capable of attaining a great size, but the late Sultan would not permit its cultivation, fearing that the Island would excite the cupidity of the English or French if too many good things were produced. The sugar-cane was very superior to any grown at Mauritius, but the climate less favourable to manufacture because of the great rainfall. The proportion of the soil under cultivation was a very small area compared to the amount lying waste, covered only with long grass and pineapples.

In August Rigby was dining out or entertaining nearly every day. Dinner-parties were very early affairs, breaking up at 8 p.m. Mr O'Swald, the Hamburg merchant, was his most frequent host and guest. On one occasion there was a party of ten Germans, whilst he was the only Englishman in the place, and a very happy evening was passed playing billiards, etc.

Nevertheless the passages from world-literature—English, French, German, Italian, Swedish, Persian, Arabic—he chose from his reading for copying into his private diary at this period often indicate a certain sense of loneliness and depression. For example,

“Oh, thou world :

“Thou art indeed a melancholy jest”

(from Byron's *Werner*);

and

“My mind was engrossed with the future which lay before me sad and solitary. Fatigues and dangers seemed to point out the road I had to travel. Though in the midst of a crowd, I was nevertheless a solitary being; in descent and colour, in education and religion, in dress and manners, and more than all these in mind and heart, in every thought and feeling, I was absolutely alone. Oppressed with these melancholy thoughts, I seated myself under the shade of a large Indian fig-tree. I keenly felt my own isolated state, without

one near or dear to me, not one soul to sympathize with me in sadness, or to participate in any emotions awakened by nature's grandest scenes" (Hügel, on entering Cashmere);

and

"Happiness is measured by resignation of heart." (Lamartine.)

A few extracts were chosen however for their appeal to his strong sense of humour. For example:—

"Qui giace l'Aretin, poeta toscò.
Di tutti disse mal, fuorchè di Christo,
Scusandosi col dir: non lo conosco.

"Qui giace il Giovio, storicone attissimo.
Di tutti disse mal, fuorchè del'asino,
Scusandosi col dir, egli è mio prossimo."

But whatever his depression at times, it is clear that in these early months he found great delight in good health, the beauty and interest of his surroundings and the social life which his linguistic abilities enabled him to enjoy to the full. On September 1st he wrote, "I find the time pass pleasantly; it seems a new world after life in a dull Indian cantonment."

His expenses for August amounted to R. 380, servants' wages being R. 112 per month, but later he reckoned expenses at not more than R. 275 per month, which seems moderate considering the great amount of entertaining, which in those days had to be on a very lavish scale, especially as regarded wines, beer and liqueurs.

From this point the Diary gives a far more vivid impression of life in East Africa seventy-seven years ago, and of Rigby's own personality, than can be gained from a narrative, so the rest of this chapter I propose to give for the most part in his own words.

"Sept. 15th. On Sunday the Sultan and his three brothers called on me. I received them at the entrance in Full Dress and gave them coffee and sherbet. The English Consul is the only person here the Sultan calls on.

"I went in my boat to French Island. Found many new plants there, very large tree-cacti, *Addisonia Digitata*, *Candelabra*, *Magnifica*, etc. Also rescued a poor Indian boy, who had been drifted on to the island in a canoe, and had been without food or water for two days.

"16th. Dr Roscher called on me with a letter from Lord Clarendon. He is come out on a scientific expedition to explore the interior of Africa.¹

"27th. Rowed to the garden in the morning. Busy all day arranging letters, papers, etc. To-day I complete two months at Zanzibar; during which time I have taken one Pill; and eaten many good dinners.

"Oct. 3, 1858. Went in my boat to Muttonay, and thence had a walk of two hours to the Sultan's country seat at Kisimbari. Lovely country all the way, through avenues of clove-trees with extensive and pretty views. This is the prettiest part of the Island I have seen. At Kisimbari are fine plantations of nutmeg-trees. They are covered with fruit. The ferns on the island are beautiful. I also found abundance of mushrooms.

"Oct. 5th. Studying Swedish. Read 1st Canto of Frithiof's *Saga*.

"8th. Heavy rain all day. Reading French and Italian books. [He here includes in his diary some notes on Italian History.]

"10th. Prince Jamsheed, the brother of the Sultan, died of smallpox after only three days' illness. He was the fourth surviving son of the late Imam of Muscat. Smallpox is raging in the town and has carried off great numbers of people, chiefly of the better class, and Arabs.

"My garden failed owing to the rats and white ants eating all the seeds. Carrots and potatoes grew, but produced no roots. About the middle of October the rainy season commenced. On the 26th a vast water-spout, which was driven over the harbour with a loud roar resembling thunder, burst in the harbour very near the town. It lasted a long time, and caused a cloud of spray to rise to a great height. The town narrowly escaped destruction.

"Oct. 27th. Two young pigeons born.

"Oct. 29th. Read several chapters of the Bible in Arabic. My cat missing since two days.

"Oct. 30th. This day poor young Saiyid Hamadan, the Sultan's brother and 7th surviving son of the late Imam, died of smallpox in his 17th year. [A few days earlier Monsieur Cochet's "chère amie" died of the same illness.]

¹ See chapter xiv.

"Oct. 31st. The ship which arrived yesterday under English colours was the Hanoverian Missionary brig from Port Natal."

To conclude October my Father pasted two newspaper cuttings in his diary. The first quotes Lord Teignmouth:—

"There is no other basis of temporal and eternal happiness than religion, and there is no other true Religion than that which the Gospel teaches. . . . My religion has nothing of gloom; its tendency is to make me cheerful, contented and happy, grateful for what I have, and anxious to show and feel my gratitude to the Disposer of all Good. Religion which does not produce these effects is professional only."

In the second, a collection of rules of life by Bishop Middleton, the following sentences have been underlined:—

"Nothing great can be accomplished without policy. . . . Keep your temper. . . . Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate. . . . Keep up a close connection with friends at home. . . . Rise early."

"Nov. 2nd. Rowed out to the coral banks. It is a beautiful sight to see the forests of coral under the deep blue water, the branches of the brightest colours, with fish of every hue floating amongst them.

"18th. Laid up with boils on the leg, and unable to walk.

"20th. Laid up with boils.

"21st. Went to the garden and planted potatoes.

"23rd. Myself, my Cook, my two cats, the Persian Mizra, my man of all work, Mirabeau, and one Sepoy of the Guard all sick, and two chickens died.

"26th. Unwell, a touch of fever.

"27th. Heavy rain from morning till night. Upwards of 6 inches fell. Everything damp and disagreeable.

"30th. Thank God, the last day of November, which has been a most blue-devil, hang-dog, wet, muggy, disagreeable month, with a great deal of sickness.

"December 4th. The Sultan and about 60 of the principal Arabs went for a trip on board H.M. steam gun vessel *Lynx*. Very hot, prickly-heat weather, with heavy showers of rain. The *Lynx* left on the 9th after a stay of ten days. The Sultan was very hospitable and the officers were much pleased.

"The rainy season ceased about the 10th of December, when the

north-east monsoon set in, and the weather became cool and pleasant, but after a few days everyone complained of boils and prickly-heat.

"12th. Half mad with prickly-heat and the cat ill.

"18th. Pleasant cool weather, but I half mad with boils and prickly-heat.

"Dec. 25th. Dined in solitude.

"31st. The month of December has been cool, and would have been very pleasant but for the excessive and unseasonable rains. The Arabs say that so long and continuous a fall of rain as we have had during the last three months has never before been experienced. It has ruined the clove harvest, and caused much sickness and misery. All the Europeans have suffered severely from boils and prickly-heat.

"Thus closes the year 1858. I like my work at Zanzibar, and foresee a great future for the country, if wisely governed. The interior is almost entirely unknown. Vague accounts of great inland seas, and mountains covered with perpetual snow are received, but nothing certain is known.

1859

"Jan. 10th. It turns out that the buggalow which arrived on the 7th brought a mail which the cold-blooded villain of a Nakhoda only delivered to-day.

"During January we continued to have the same unseasonable weather, very dull, close, muggy, with heavy rains and not a breath of wind.

"At this time we received news that a powerful fleet was being equipped by Saiyid Thowanee, the Sultan of Muscat, for the invasion of Zanzibar. Great alarm was occasioned, and great interruption to trade. Thousands of wild Africans were assembled from all parts to oppose Saiyid Thowanee. The streets were filled with excited armed men, who fired off their muskets in any direction. It was known to me that Saiyid Thowanee had many secret supporters amongst the Arabs, and we were for a long time in a very anxious state.

"The Governor of the Town, Saiyid Suleiman bin Ali, son-in-law of the late Imam, called on me to consult as to the measures to be taken for the protection of the town on the approach of the hostile fleet from Muscat. At this time, to add to the disquiet and apprehension caused by the threatening appearance of political affairs, the cholera broke out and raged for a long time with the utmost severity, not only in the Town and all parts of the Island, but many

towns on the mainland were almost depopulated by it. In fact it more resembled black plague than Asiatic Cholera. Men were seized with sudden illness in the streets and died in agony in one or two hours. Ships lost their entire crews. One vessel bound for Mozambique lost three crews, and was at last run ashore and abandoned.

"Jan. 28th. Wrote to Captain Berkeley, commanding the *Lynx*, to come with all speed to Zanzibar for the protection of British subjects.

"Feb. 1st. The deaths by cholera are reported to be 250 daily. The dead are buried amongst the living, by the roadsides in long lines of shallow graves, the earth scarcely covering the toes. The weather is fine, cool and bracing.

"7th. My head-servant attacked with cholera, and it has been painful to hear his groans all day. [He continued in a very critical state for three days, but finally recovered.]

"12th. Mirza Hajee Khaleel, my Arabic and Persian writer, died of cholera. He was a most disreputable old scoundrel. On going to his house to take an inventory of his effects, I discovered a slave-boy, recently imported, whom he had purchased for 12 dollars. This shows how deeply slavery is rooted among the people—that the old and trusted chief native official of the Consulate was himself a purchaser of slaves, in spite of my daily warnings that the severest punishment awaited any British subject found to be dealing in or holding slaves.

"Feb. 24th. The Sultan's ships of war *Shah Alum*, *Piedmontese*, *Artemis* and *Africa* sailed to meet the hostile force expected from Muscat.

"The month closed with heavy rains.

"During March we had very heavy and continuous rains with thunderstorms. On the 4th Burton and Speke arrived from their expedition to the interior, and on the 23rd left for Aden. On the 24th the first dhow of the hostile Muscat fleet arrived, and all on board were at once made prisoners. The steam-frigate *Assaye* arrived for the protection of British subjects, and brought information that the Muscat fleet for the invasion had been intercepted at sea by a squadron from Bombay, and invited under a threat of force to return to Muscat. The arrival of this splendid frigate restored confidence at Zanzibar, and quite disconcerted the chiefs of the powerful tribe of El Harth, who had been long plotting the downfall of Saiyid Majid the Sultan. On the 29th the French corvette *Cordelière*, and on the 6th April the *Persian* and the *Clive*, arrived. We had thus a powerful force ready to act in case of an outbreak, and on the 14th this was increased by the arrival of the *Lyra*. . .

[I am omitting the history of the Rebellion from the diary, along with much relating to the slave trade, as these demand fuller treatment in separate chapters.—L.M.R.]

"May 4th. The Sultan sent me a goat, which I gave amongst my people.

"6th. The Sultan of Mohilla called on me.

"We had a very heavy rainy season up to the 15th May, when the weather became bright, cool and very agreeable. I generally took long walks through the orange groves and clove plantations, starting about 5 in the morning and returning about 9. The scenery is lovely at this season, the birds singing in the woods, the oranges just getting ripe, and all nature fresh and animated.

"The town continues in a very disturbed state, the streets filled with wild Arabs of the piratical tribes from Oman and the Persian Gulf who have come in expectation of joining in the plunder, and are day and night stealing slaves and free people with impunity. I am often fired at when out in my boat, and the corvette *Clive* is often made a target by these wild people.

"I discovered that a British Indian subject had purchased a Galla slave-girl for 159 dollars. I therefore sent her to the Cazee or High Priest to be legally emancipated, gave her a Consular Certificate of freedom and imprisoned her master.

"May 22nd. The Muscat Envoy called on me and was very persistent about the Sultan paying the 40,000 dollars. I told him I hoped he would never pay a farthing, and that if he came here to fight, one broadside of the *Shah Alum* would sink every ship he has. I read to him extracts from the Government Records about Saiyid Thowanee's unfavourable antecedents.

"June 2nd [in a letter to Miles]. Our regatta commences to-morrow and will last several days. The Arabs, and especially the Sultan, take great interest in boating. About fifteen boats start in the first race, and I think my large one has a chance of winning the 1st prize. The first race is for all sailing-boats, the second for all rowing-boats. The Sultan has invited a large party on board his Flagship, which is to be the winning-point, and there will be a grand *déjeuner*. Although the French have a man-of-war here, *L'Estafette*, they have not subscribed to the Regatta, nor entered a boat, nor has the French Consul subscribed a farthing. The men of the *Clive* have subscribed 65 dollars, and are delighted with having a little amusement. The *Clive* will have to stop here some time yet, unless relieved by another vessel, for this place is very unsettled, and there may be

fighting any day. . . . We shall have another Consul here soon, as the Hanseatic Republic is making a Treaty with the Sultan and is going to appoint a Consul.

"June 6th. The Sultan and Saiyid Suleiman called on me about the rebellion of the El Harth and the vile conduct of Burghash. I recommended prompt and energetic measures.

"9th. Second day of the Regatta. Very high wind and sea. My boat beat all the other sailing-boats easily.

"24th. Dr Roscher left yesterday for Keelwa. A man murdered in the street last night. Hamerton Tomb finished, 9 ft. square and 9 ft. high. [He had visited French Island several times to superintend the building.]

"About the end of June I received my Commission as Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar and Muscat, and was gazetted to the local rank of Lieut.-Colonel. My chief anxiety was the paucity of letters from my family, by all of whom my existence seemed entirely forgotten."

The following letter—an interesting example of a Victorian letter from father to son—was however on its way.

"YATELEY LODGE, HANTS

"April 9th, 1859

"MY DEAR CHRISTOPHER,

"I received a letter on the 4th inst. dated Zanzibar Jan. 8th from which I learned with pleasure that you had received my long letter of the July preceding which I got the post master Genl to dispatch for me with the great Seal affixed. Now this I purpose addressing to you direct to Zanzibar and transmitting to you by the first favorable Opportunity. I am sorry that you complain of Ennui—I should have thought that in such a delicious climate—so happily circumstanced as you are, and in the Enjoyment of such good Health (one of the First Blessings of Heaven to poor Mortals here below) with a plenty of all the Necessaries and even Luxuries of Life, in a high Position—nay the very first of your Countrymen in the Island—you would have been happy of the Happiest—I suppose that you have plenty of Books of all kinds—and all the newspapers as well from England as from France. Situate as I am here I have neither the means nor the Opportunity of sending you newspapers nor books. If in London I could have inquired amongst the merchants for those whose vessels visited your Port and have sent you a paper which I take in weekly *The Illustrated London News* now famed

through Europe. I keep mine to send to you by any channel that I may find out. But do you look around you and REFLECT!!! and then with a Heart of Gratitude to your God for His numerous Blessings to you fall on your knees and praise and bless Him for His many mercies to you. Oh be not blind to them but be full of Thankfulness. . . . Your welcome long letter giving so full and entertaining an account of your voyage from Bombay to Zanzibar and the Seychelle Isles. Gibson who was highly pleased with your writing to him and sent me your letter for my perusal, also showed it to Colonel Talbot, Lord Derby's Secretary, and He afterwards told Gibson that it had made him uncomfortable ever since to think that there was such a Paradise on Earth and He not there. So if you wish to leave, I think you might negotiate for an Exchange to a good and lucrative Office in England. But be happy and content. Independant of your having a handsome Salary and being the first among the highest of the Island—Think what it is to be in such a land of Fertility and Safety. No venomous Reptile, no annoying Insects—and such a happy Climate—and Climate after all is one of the chiefest Pleasures of Existence. It influences every feeling—it is harmony to the Mind and Health to the Body. It sheds a calm serenity over the One and gives Ease and Comfort to the Other. I exclaim of you 'Oh fortunatus Puer, si sua Bona norit.' If you do not get the English papers, perhaps a scrap of the Politics of the Times may be welcome to you. And *Imprimis*—in the Queen's last Speech on the Opening of the present Parliament (now on the Eve of Dissolution) reference is made to the disgraceful extent of the Slave Trade in French vessels on the coast of Africa, and that upon a representation of it with a strong remonstrance from Our Foreign Minister to the French Government, Louis Bonaparte expressed his Sorrow at it and promised immediate Suppression of it. Thus as I tell my Friends—You had the Honor of causing an important Feature in the Royal Speech, for I consider it was entirely to be attributed to your information to Our Ministers. Lord Derby and Mr D'Israeli's Measures had been generally approved of and altho' it was considered that the Administration was far from a strong one, and was exposed to a fall in the event of any great Measure being opposed by the Opposition—yet they proceeded with the Business of the Country very steadily—till about five weeks since, when D'Israeli brought forward a plan of reform—the Queen's Speech having promised that it was a Question to be considered. . . . In the progress of the Debate very mischievous arguments were used, calculated to excite much dangerous feeling, as urging that the working classes, the Operatives as they termed them, were as much

entitled to vote as any, that they ought to be represented as well as the higher and middle Classes, and that if passed over they would prefer their own rights and insist on them. This has caused great and just alarm. . . .

"Within the last week has arisen a subject of deep interest I fear to you—the exposure of the sad State of Indian Finances—the discovery of an immense deficiency of Income and of vast Increase in Expenditure. An immediate loan of twelve millions sterling is required and great doubts expressed if that will suffice for the present. . . . They fear that no Subscribers will now come forward without a British Guarantee, and no English Minister will dare to Pledge England. I have all along thought that the cost of the wonderful Efforts of the Indian Government to suppress the revolt, and the temporary loss of their revenue . . . would greatly embarrass them. . . . It is a serious affair and I hope may not affect the Income of the hitherto thriving prosperous Agent and Consul of Zanzibar, and interfere with his generous Hospitalities to visitors or liberal remittances to distressed Relatives. . . . The almost miraculous discoveries recently made in firearms and Artillery occupies much of the attention of the Public, and Armstrong has been highly rewarded, but some think that there is a great deal of polite Exaggeration in order to alarm our Enemies and deter them from any attempt at Invasion. And though we profess mutually to be on the most friendly terms with the French, yet it has been surmised that their immense preparations for war, their great Increase of their Army and Navy, their reviews and frequent Embarcations and Reimbarcations of Troops may covertly be intended against England. And that lately the frequent statements made by Ministers and others of the serious aspect of the Times and the awful Condition of Europe refer to some great threatening danger. Indeed some time back the expectation of Invasion was general, particularly when the French Marshals and Colonels used some strong Language of reproach against us—but which it was said the Emperor repressed. And the French too have announced the Discovery . . . of a new and most destructive Engine of war, which will destroy vessels or Fortifications at ten miles distance, so that all our Fortifications at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Sheerness and Woolwich would be levelled to the Ground in a few minutes and Our Fleets also consumed. If there be any such Engines of destruction, a new era in the Tactics of the world has arrived. You recollect that Archimedes said that give Him but a Place to stand on and He could move the World. However, leaving these theories to Time to prove or to evince their Fallacy, we must make the most of the passing Hour, and with a firm reliance

on the Mercy and Goodness of the great Deity enjoy what of Happiness we can. . . .

"20th April in continuation. I have been very unwell, and the weather has been so extremely cold and the easterly wind so prevalent that I have been confined to the House and incapable of attending to anything. All the Hopes of my Garden have been destroyed—repeated severe frosts cut off all the Blossoms of my wall Fruit, and all is looking dreary and desolate, the Trees blighted, vegetation stopped and a second winter come on. All crying out with illness. Such is our uncertain climate—and Man and Animal suffer and all Nature seems to mourn. Oh bless the happy climate you are enjoying!!! War seems to be the general expectation. The Funds are falling. The French are deeply affected—they have gone from 68 to 62 within these few days. . . . A new Parliament is to assemble on the 31st May. I thought it was not politic at such a critical time as this when we had offered to mediate between the French and Austrians and there is about to be held a Congress. All the Kingdom is now in the midst of the Hubub and Confusion which disgrace our Elections. . . . John Walter, the late Member for Nottingham stands for Berks. He wrote to request my vote. I wrote Him that 'respect for the memory of my esteemed Friend his late Father and early recollections of Himself were imperative on me to record my vote in his Favor.' He wrote me a handsome note of acknowledgment, referring to my Hospitalities to Him and his Tutor, and to his riding on his Shetland pony over here and staying on a visit with us, and that he should shortly come over and shake Hands with me. I understand that he will walk over the course. An idea appears prevalent that the French are intending covertly under pretence of a Continental War to invade England or some of her dependencies, for it is said that the restless French people must have an active Government and that unless diverted by foreign warfare they will be busy about internal Politics, and that Buonaparte finds He must for Self-preservation engage in foreign warfare. Algeria is now quite subdued and some other Employment must be found for his Troops. It is a sad state of things. Our National Debt has been terribly increased of late—that Russian War cost us 90 millions—and the alteration and increase of Our Navy about 25 millions since—so that our Load of Taxation will be great.

". . . John I cannot do without—he dresses and undresses me, etc. And I get more helpless—can only toddle along, and that not further than up to Baylys—and when I read the newspaper I fall asleep—and doze all the morning and evening when not talking or writing. The only way to keep me awake is to play a rubber of whist,

and night after night Julia plays double dummy with me 3d. points. We see no Company and my existence is drearily monotonous. I am driven thus to smoke a great deal, even two or three times in the night. So pity your poor distressed and aged Father, and thank your God for his many Blessings poured on yourself, and Believe me ever

"Your affectionate Father,

"T. T. RIGBY"¹

A letter from Bartle Frere also belongs to this period:—

"KURRACHEE, *July 20th*, 1859

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"I have often been puzzled to know how to open a communication with you, and it has occurred to me that a letter via Muscat may have a chance. Some letters of yours which Lord Elphinstone showed me when we were staying with him in the cold weather brought back many early visions of African travel, and I cannot help asking you, if you ever happen to have a spare half-hour, to let me know what you are doing, and hearing of the far interior. Nothing could be more interesting than the intelligence lately sent home, and I cannot help fancying that we owe more to you than the nominal discoverers always admit.

"It is, I fear, almost useless to ask you if I can do anything, or send you any information from this quarter. But among your traders and Belooch mercenaries you may sometimes have men to whom you may wish to do some service in this quarter of the world, or in Cutch. . . ."

"The month of July opened with a lovely morning like a May day in Europe, and the weather continued delightful. . . . On the 7th the Sultan seized Abdallah bin Salim, Salim Basheer and the other rebel chiefs. There was great commotion in the town and two Mohilla men were murdered in the streets.

"July 22nd. Heard of two Spanish slavers at Eboo.

"Sept. 10th. That rascal Ahmed bin Salim left to-day after intriguing here to make a revolution for five months, and bribing with 3,000 dollars the Sultan's confidential Albanian Jemadar to murder him. At this time I was confined to the house for over a fortnight with a swollen foot.

"20th. Beautiful weather. Went to the Garden and gathered the first dish of peas, carrots and turnips.

¹ Aged eighty-five.

"Oct. 8th. Passed the evening on board the *Assaye*. The evenings at this season are lovely—so cool, calm and bright.

"22nd. Papers from England up to 26th August. Saw myself gazetted as Lieut.-Colonel.

"28th. H.H. the Sultan paid me a visit to-day to congratulate me on my promotion. He was accompanied by his brother, cousins, etc. Went to the garden. No vegetables.

"Nov. 16th. Planted peas, beans, turnips, radishes, etc.

"18th. . . . Hard at work at the garden, planting, weeding and making water-courses. Christmas Day was very stormy and wet. Went to the Garden and planted vegetables. Entertained a large party at dinner—roast turkey, haunch of mutton, plum pudding, etc."

1860.

In the original diary there is again evidence of acute depression in the entry on his birthday:—

"Jan. 18th. This day I complete forty years in this sorry world. . . . And I complete 24 years of bondage in the Army.

"Feb. 5th. Went in the large boat. Landed and went to Kanoo's shumba and found several newly purchased slaves. On return home placed Kanoo in the Fort.

"16th. Emancipated 48 slaves belonging to Kanoo.

"8th. Emancipated 15 more slaves belonging to Kanoo.

"9th. Called on H.H. and spoke to him about British subjects buying and selling slaves; and reminded him of his Father's Proclamation of 8th August, 1843.

"12th. Went to Kanoo's shumba, and made it over to his emancipated slaves.

"17th. Went to Mahommed's shumba and emancipated all the slaves.

"19th. Went to Kanoo's shumba.

"20th

"21st { Busy the entire day writing out certificates of emancipa-
"22nd { tion for slaves.
"25th {

"28th

"28th. Still busy all day emancipating slaves at the rate of 300 a day.

"March 1st. Called on Ahmed bin Rahman about the Soorees kidnapping children.

"2nd. Went to Kanoo's shumba. Busy all day writing certificates of emancipation.

"4th, Sunday. Emancipating slaves all day. The Harbour full of pirate boats and Northern Arabs.

"5th. A buggalow arrived from Muscat in 20 days. Received a letter from Saiyid Thowanee.

"7th. Busy all day emancipating slaves. Fined Ali Wazir 200 dollars for secreting slaves.

"10th. A French brig arrived which looks like a thieving slaver.

"May 27th. The Sultan paid me a visit in state, and stopped a long time.

"The month of June was very unhealthy, severe fever was very prevalent, and I was very ill with it the greater part of the month. For twelve days it was very violent, and I was not able to do anything. I received four letters from Speke.

"July 12th. Took a long walk for the first time since my illness, and remarked the great number of new graves of victims of the prevailing fever. Dr Roscher's servant arrived from Keelwa, and stated that his master was murdered on the 25th March.¹

"An American ship of war arrived with guns and ammunition for the Sultan of Muscat, ordered when he expected to gain possession of Zanzibar.

"July 29th. Baron von der Decken arrived from Hamburg to travel in the interior. He brought me letters of introduction from Lord John Russell and W. O'Swald.

"August 1st. The *Lyra* arrived and left the next day in search of a Spanish slaver reported to be shipping slaves on the east side of the Island. Dined with Witt, who to-day hoisted his flag as Consul for the Hanseatic Republics.

"6th. The Sultan called on me, and I accompanied him to call on the Hanseatic Consul.

"10th. The *Lyra* returned towing a large Spanish slaver as a prize, captured about 40 miles down the coast.

"17th. The *Brisk* arrived with Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, the Commander-in-Chief. The *Brisk* had captured off Johanna a large Spanish slaver with 846 slaves. Captains Speke and Grant arrived in her on their expedition to explore the great lakes.

"18th. The Admiral, Captain de Horsey, the Flag-Lieutenant, the Secretary, Speke, Grant, Baron von der Decken and Oldfield dined with me. We all called on the Sultan.

¹ See Chapter xiv.

"20th. Walked over the Town with the Admiral. Dined with him on board the *Brisk*, and adjourned to my house in the evening.

"21st. Received letters and books from Sir G. Grey, Governor of the Cape.

"22nd. Took a long walk with Grant. The *Brisk* left in search of a large Spanish slaver [the *Formosa Estrella*] known to have arrived in Chouaka Bay to ship a cargo of slaves. She returned from an unsuccessful search on the 25th. Admiral Sir H. Keppel put up with me. Seven visitors in my awkward house.¹

"27th. Busy all day writing officials about the slave trade.

"28th. Busy the whole day writing until 11 o'clock at night.

"29th. Up at 5 a.m. writing. Sent officials Nos. 44, 45, 46 to Anderson about Mass, Slave Trade, rascally conduct of French Consul, French designs, etc., and officials to Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood.

"The weather during the month of August was much more pleasant, and I daily took long walks into the interior of the Island with Speke and Grant, and the officers of the *Brisk* and *Lyra*. The activity of the Spanish slave trade and the open support given to it by the French Consul and French naval officers gave me great trouble and anxiety.

"Sept. 15th. The Sultan's Corvette *Iskunder Shah* left with Speke, Grant and the men of the Cape Rifles in search of a Spanish slaver near Pangani, supposed to be the *Formosa Estrella*.

"17th. Paid the Sultan a long visit about the payment of 40,000 crowns per annum to Muscat.

"25th. I left in the *Iskunder Shah* with Speke and Grant, and went to Bagamoyo, arriving there the following evening.

"30th. My last day with Speke and Grant, who broke ground that day. Received intelligence of the arrival at Zanzibar of the steam frigate *Punjaub*, with Sir W. Coghlan and Dr Badger, who had been appointed to the Muscat-Zanzibar Commission to inquire into all matters in dispute between the two States. I therefore sailed the following day, and arrived at Zanzibar in the evening.

"Oct. 15th. I was attacked with very severe fever, became delirious, and was insensible for several days.

"17th. The *Punjaub* left for Aden, having in tow the Sultan's frigate *Victoria*, with the Sultan on board as a passenger to Mom-bassa. I hauled down my Flag, and broke off all communication with the Zanzibar Government in consequence of Saiyid Saood, the

¹ Charles New (*Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, 1874) wrote, "The English Consulate is utterly unworthy of our great nation."

Sultan's Deputy, having acted in a most hostile manner, and in direct violation of the Treaty with Her Majesty. All the rest of this month I was completely prostrated with fever and jaundice, unable to attend to any work, and long after I remained very weak, and on many days very ill.

"Nov. 14th. The Sultan returned from Mombassa, and the following day, he having sent me a written promise that Saiyid Saood should be removed from the Governorship of Lamoo, I rehoisted my Flag under a Royal Salute from the ships of war. The French Corvette *Cordelière* arrived, and as usual ran ashore off M'toni.

"28th. I called on Sultan Majid about the rascally reports spread by the French Consul that I had given Bakushmun a bribe of 10,000 dollars, and that I go to Ahmed bin Rahman's house at night in Arab dress. Also about the vile lies old Suleiman bin Ahmed writes to Saiyid Thowanee. Got drenched coming back. The streets like rivers.

"Dec. 21st. The *Formosa Estrella*, the Spanish slaver which has been so long hovering on the coast endeavouring to procure a cargo of slaves, was brought into harbour, having been captured by the Sultan's Corvette *Iskunder Shah*. She was a filthy, stinking vessel, with a crew of 40 most cut-throat-looking Spaniards, and was completely fitted to embark slaves, the slave-deck laid, the hold full of water-casks and fire-wood, with 20 new swords, 11 guns, leg-irons, etc.

"Christmas Day. Witt, Schultz, the Captain of the *W. O'Swald*, Rieck, Ruete, Mr and Mrs Frost and Miss Hoy dined with me.

"I continued very weak and ill all the month. In fact the incessant work, worry and anxiety were beginning to tell upon me after my severe fever.

1861.

"The new year opened with thunder, lightning and torrents of rain. The Sultan paid me an official visit with all his Court to congratulate me on New Year's Day.

"2nd. Captain Buckley, V.C. (R.N.), Ellis, Wright, Stevenson and the Marquis of Queensberry dined with us, and also the other Consuls.

"9th. Very hot, unwholesome weather. I in great pain, having been stung by a large centipede in bed whilst asleep.

"10th. Detestable weather, so muggy and close, with rain and thunder. A severe cold and sore throat.

"14th. Horrid weather, and I feel more dead than alive.

"30th. Wrote to Mrs Speke, and sent her Speke's last letter to me dated 11th Nov. and copy of my letter to R.G. Society about Burton.

"Feb. 5th. Wrote to the Sultan to complain of the treatment Baron von der Decken had met with at Keelwa, and also regarding Hajee Noor having been imprisoned by Saiyid Saood at Lamoo when sent by me to Magadosho to inquire after the survivors of the *St Abbs* reported to be in captivity in the interior.

"10th. Called on the Sultan and had a long talk with him about his nephew's infamous conduct at Lamoo.

"18th. Received a note from Speke dated 26th Oct. with some zebra heads.

"22nd. Kennedy, the 1st Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Wasp* arrived with news of the wreck of that vessel on an island 300 miles south of Zanzibar. Kennedy had been nineteen days in an open cutter.

"24th. Found six slaves secreted on board Sooree dhows and caused them to be landed and emancipated. Kennedy left in the *Iskunder Shah* to proceed to the assistance of the shipwrecked crew of the *Wasp*.

"28th. News arrived of an insurrection at Keelwa and of the burning of the town by the insurgents. An ugly tub under French colours arrived in 28 days from the Mauritius. It proved to be an Arab ship which had assumed the French flag for facilities of slave trading.

"March 3rd. Mr Thornton, Naturalist of Livingstone's Expedition, dined with me.

"8th. The northern piratical Arabs, the Soorees and Yoasmis, in great force in the town. They attacked the servants of the American Consul, and severely wounded three of them. I had a Guard of the Sultan's Baloochees at the Consulate at night, an attack being expected.

"11th. Called on the Sultan and spoke to him of the impolicy and injustice of releasing the Sooree Arabs without punishment.

"17th. A severe fight between the Soorees and the Sultan's troops, and a Sooree dhow was captured with 17 stolen slaves on board. Two others were found on board murdered.

"19th. Captain Oldfield of the *Lyra* arrived by boat during the night and the following day Lieut. de Wahl and Dr Spiers. They all put up with me, and the *Lyra* went to the north. Weather very close and oppressive. Thermometer 96° in the shade.

"31st. The *Lyra* returned with 104 captured slaves.

"April 3rd. Wrote to Dr Livingstone.

"4th. The *Lyra*'s boat captured a dhow with 110 slaves.

"5th. A severe fight between the Soorees and *Lyra*'s boats at the mouth of the harbour.

"9th. The piratical Arabs very menacing and troublesome. Oldfield sank a large dhow after a severe fight. He was attacked by two large pirate dhows when in his gig.

"10th. Last night 9 piratical dhows of the Ras el Khyma Arabs got away full of slaves. The slaves were being actively shipped all night, even from the Fort.

"11th. Called on the Sultan and remonstrated with him strongly on the scandalous shipment of slaves going on, and I read over to him the Treaties entered into between his father and the British Government.

"12th. The *Lyra* captured three pirate dhows.

"13th. Called on the Sultan with Oldfield. *Lyra* captured 70 pirates. The first dhow left for Bombay, and by it I sent my sick certificate with an application for sick leave to Europe.

"15th. The *Lyra* left to-day for the Seychelles, and I was left to solitude in wretched health. Very sorry to part with Oldfield.¹

"17th. With Baron von der Decken to the M'toni Springs, which supply the town with drinking-water.

"29th. I found a Somali dhow in the harbour with 141 kidnapped slaves on board, and had them all landed. The Sultan does not pay the slightest attention to his slave-trading Treaties.

"May 1st. The *Sidon* arrived from the Mauritius. She had captured six slave dhows on the coast and had on board 200 captured slaves.

"4th. Raining in torrents all day and night. We have now been in one tarnation muck for eight months.

"May 15th. Tremendous rain during the night. Ill and out of sorts, as I always am now.

"Up to the 18th May we had 33 inches of rain during the month or nearly two inches a day. About the 23rd the rains ended, and the weather became cool and pleasant.

"28th. Baron von der Decken and Mr Thornton left for Mombassa to explore the snowy mountains of Kilimanjaro.

¹ It is regrettable that there is so little about Captain Oldfield in my Father's diaries, and no letters among his papers. Doubtless his exceptional zeal and activity on behalf of slaves led to the close friendship which existed between them until his too early death. He was my godfather; he died too soon for me to know him, but I can remember the affection and admiration with which my Father always spoke of him, and my intense pride in being his godchild even though he lived no more. I certainly thought a dead lion better than a live dog!—L.M.R.

"June 1st. Laid up with a sore foot and sore mind.

"4th. Rats kept me awake.

"During June the weather was very cool and pleasant, but my health was rapidly breaking, and I was very anxious for the arrival of my leave of absence.

"14th. The steam frigate *Semiramis* arrived from Bombay bringing letters for the Sultan from Lord Canning and Sir George Clerk, and handsome presents.¹

"18th. Busy all day writing officials—and very sick. Headache, toothache, earache, etc.

"July 1st. The *Semiramis* left for Bombay, and in her departed Mr Frost, the Medical Officer of the Consulate and Mrs Frost. I sailed out to bid them farewell. Sea very rough, and I was thoroughly drenched on returning.

"2nd. Last night a large centipede stung me. I found the beast under the pillow.

"4th. Called on the Americans, it being the day they spread their tails and crow like game-cocks.²

"9th. Took a long walk, and got very footsore, having no shoes to wear and none procurable.

"14th. The Chief of the Police, the finest specimen of an Arab im Zanzibar, was murdered yesterday. Traits of an Arab ruler:—

¹ Apparently these presents were not as ineptly chosen as those sent in previous years to the Sultan's father, the old Imam of Muscat, on behalf of Queen Victoria. "First there was the yacht of His late Majesty George IV, which was so decorated with mythological and other figures abhorrent to a pious Mohammedan that H.H. could not say his prayers on board. . . . Next a state-carriage was sent, but neither Zanzibar nor Muscat had a road on which a carriage could run." Again, a silver-gilt tea-service was presented, but Arabs do not use tea, and they are prohibited by their religion from taking food from vessels made of the precious metals. Lastly "His late R.H. the Prince Consort, presented him with a jewelled snuff-box, unaware that tobacco in all its forms is more abhorrent than sin to the Wahabic sects." (Dispatch from Playfair, 1864.)

In 1859 when Majid refused to accept his share of the royalty on guano from the Kooria Nooria Islands, probably a considerable accumulated sum, saying that his family were under such deep obligations to the British Government that his late father was only too glad to have an opportunity to comply with its wishes, and he himself had no intention of receiving any compensation in money, Rigby suggested that if a present were sent, it might take the form of "a small pleasure-yacht of about 120 tons, without any ornamental decorations." "H.H." he wrote, "takes great interest in naval affairs and scientific inventions, and pays much attention to his own ships of war."

² He was on very good terms with the Consul, Mr. W. G. Webb, whom he described in a dispatch as "a gentleman who has at all times shown a most friendly feeling to the British."

"(1) Yesterday the Sultan sent his Chief of Police to the house of an Arab about the payment of a debt due to a British subject. The Arab invites the Chief of Police into his house, and immediately kills him with a sword. The murderer is immediately arrested *in flagrante delictu*, his clothes covered with the blood of his victim. He is confined by the Sultan one night in the Fort, and then released and pardoned.

"(2) A comet being now visible, the Sultan gives notice by the public crier throughout the town that every person is to sacrifice a white goat or sheep to avert the evils of its visit.

"(3) The Secretary of Saiyid Mahommed bin Salim forges an order in the name of his master on Luddah Danyee the Customs Master for 150 dollars. The money is paid to him, and on the discovery of the forgery 60 dollars are recovered, but the forger is not punished in any way.

"(4) The High Priest or Kazee writes out a forged paper purporting to be a security bond for 82 dollars for money lent to the man's brother. On the man denying that he had ever given any authority to the Kazee, or ever given any such bond, the Kazee admits that he wrote it without any application from the man, and that it was false and fraudulent.

"(5) A Joasmee pirate steals five slaves. They are found secreted in his house. He is released without any punishment.

"July 18th and 19th. Laid up with boils.

"20th. This day finished all my official letters to the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and for India, which have occupied me from morning till night for a whole month.

"22nd. The coldest weather known in Zanzibar for many years, but very unhealthy. Many people suffering from fever, and I laid up with painful boils.

"25th. To-day I complete three years' residence in Zanzibar.

"28th. I called officially on the Sultan to remonstrate with him about the answer he has sent to Lord John Russell's demand to prohibit the transport of slaves coastwise. I pointed out to His Highness that this traffic has been put a stop to by the influence of the British Government all over the world. I read to him the Treaty concluded with the Sultan of Johanna, also Lord John Russell's speech on the slave trade. I told him that the Treaties with the British Government have been entirely disregarded by all the Arabs here, and that the Arabs must bow to the decree of God, and prepare for the entire abolition of this abominable and cruel traffic.

"August 3rd. An Arab of the Aboo Saidi or Royal Tribe stole

40 slaves last night, and shipped them off . . . , an instance of the open manner in which this horrible traffic is still carried on.

"4th, Sunday. Called on the Sultan about the claims of British subjects and sat with him an hour and a half investigating claims against Arabs. I told the Sultan my mind pretty freely, and that this system cannot continue. British subjects must and shall receive their just dues.

"12th. Yesterday 25 of the Sultan's rabble soldiers deserted with a dhow full of stolen slaves.

"14th. To-day twelve kidnapped slaves were found in the house of a Jemadar in the Sultan's service. He was taken before the Sultan and pardoned.

"18th. Accounts arrived of serious disturbances at Lamoo, and of the slaughter of a great many of the Sultan's soldiers. Also of the death of that poor wretch Abdullah bin Salim, the Chief of the powerful El Harth Tribe, who has doubtless been murdered in prison at Lamoo by order of the cowardly, treacherous Sultan.

"23rd. A boat's crew of H.M.S. *Gorgon* arrived in the harbour in an old dhow, having been drifted off the coast with a broken mast, and two of the crew drowned.

"A man arrived from Unyamuesi, and reported Speke and Grant all well.

"Sept. 1st. The steam frigate *Gorgon* arrived from Johanna, and Captain Wilson, Dr Ramsay, Devereux, etc., Schultz, the German Consul, etc., dined with me.

"2nd. Dr Ramsay called on me, and urged me to leave Zanzibar at once, and Captain Wilson offered me a cabin in the *Gorgon*. As my health was much broken, and Dr Ramsay told me that a further stay at Zanzibar might be fatal to me, I reluctantly consented to leave before the arrival of my successor.¹

"3rd. Paid my farewell visit to the Sultan with Captain Wilson, and I hope never to see the false, vile scoundrel in this world again. I sold off all furniture, books, etc., by auction² for almost nothing,

¹ His successors did not hold out so long. Colonel Pelly was succeeded in September 1863 by Playfair (afterwards Sir Lyon), whose health broke down, and in July 1865 Dr Seward became Acting Consul for two years. Churchill took up office in June 1867. In the autumn of the following year he had to go on sick furlough, leaving Dr Kirk (afterwards Sir John) in charge.

² "Amongst the books for sale there was a Koran partly translated into English (by Colonel Rigby), a very interesting and valuable work. The Mahomedans crowded round this book very naturally, and justly determined to prevent its falling into the hands of infidels. John Bull-like we were determined to have it. The loud gruff voice of the auctioneer resounded

settled all accounts, placed the Consulate and British subjects in charge of Mr Schultz the German Consul, and left Zanzibar on the 6th in *H.M.S. Gorgon*.

"Thus closed my career at Zanzibar. I think that my steady and unceasing efforts to do away with slavery have since borne good fruit. Previously slavery had never been interfered with either on land or by sea. It may easily be understood what opposition I encountered when I commenced interference with the vast network of man-stealing and man-selling, in which so large a capital was embarked, and in which the interests and sympathies of the entire population, including all the foreign merchants of every nationality, were enlisted. I was alone, the only Englishman in Zanzibar. I was threatened with death, with prosecution by foreign governments, by entire stoppage of all trade with British subjects. But to all, the Sultan included, my invariable reply was, 'Rather should this Island, with all that it contains, sink beneath the sea, than that this cruel, detestable traffic in human beings should continue.' . . . And before I left Zanzibar I had the satisfaction of giving liberty to upwards of 8,000 African slaves, who but for my interference would have passed all their lives in bondage.

"The Sultan and the Arab Chiefs were bitterly opposed to my interference, and predicted their own complete ruin if the supply of slaves were curtailed. They all believed that it was simply a whim of my own, and that after my departure matters regarding slavery would revert to their former status. In vain I often told the Sultan in full Durbar that the torch I had lighted would never be extinguished as long as one African remained a slave.¹

"In order to show his ill-feeling at my interference with the slave trade, the Sultan paid me no farewell visit on my departure,² fired

through the halls louder and louder; his fiery eyes blazing with zeal for his people, ready to knock the lot down to one of his own tribe at the first opportunity. It was no use. The poor Arabs had more zeal than money, and we became the possessors after a hard struggle. Shortly afterwards, I think they must have become desperate, and determined to outbid us for an English Bible, now put up; but I am ashamed to say, that after chasing the poor fellows a little way we deserted them, and, much to their disgust and surprise, they had to pay an extraordinary price for what they apparently never intended to purchase."—W. Cope Devereux, *A Cruise in the "Gorgon"* (Bell & Daldy, 1869).

¹ But, alas, it often burnt very low indeed. See chapter xiii.

² Apparently the Sultan did come to see him off informally, for Cope Devereux narrates: "Now the Consul embarks, and all the unprincipled inhabitants, from the Sultan downwards, crowd down to the water's edge to see the enemy to their trade depart."

no salute, and showed by his treatment of myself and the officers of the *Gorgon* that he thought that he would not be subjected to any more pressure to uphold his Treaties. But he soon found he was mistaken, and that the advice I had given him was friendly, and although we parted in this unfriendly manner, he afterwards sent me as a present, through the Foreign Office, a very handsome gold-mounted sabre, and when he sent an Embassy to Her Majesty, he particularly requested the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that I should be in charge of it.

"I have dwelt thus upon the Slave Trade at Zanzibar, and made so many extracts from my journals relating to it, in order to show you what an uphill struggle I had in my solitude, and how, chiefly owing to my exertions, my Reports, and my speeches at meetings, a few years have sufficed almost to abolish slavery at Zanzibar, and that the Arabs have found their trade vastly increased in consequence, and that none of the evil effects they feared have followed upon its abolition.

"After leaving Zanzibar in the *Gorgon*, we anchored off Magadosho on the 12th September. . . . We were at anchor in a very heavy, chopping, cross sea for six days several miles from land.

"On the 18th we were at Brava, unable to approach the land owing to a very heavy surf."

The reason for the visits to Magadosho and Brava is given in a dispatch to Bombay dated Lamoo, October 4, 1861. Ill as he was—dying he often believed—he was the cause in his devotion to duty of the delay involved in the *Gorgon's* voyage to a healthier clime. Inquiry had been made of him respecting a ship, the *St Abbs*, wrecked in 1855 on the Somali coast, for it was believed there might be survivors held captive by the tribesmen. An Arab woman who had been a slave among the Abghal Somalis, had assured him that there were white men in captivity there, and later, in 1866, at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, he again expressed a hope that the Government would take measures to ascertain if such rumours were true, and, if so, to procure the release of the unfortunate sailors. He writes in the dispatch:—

"As I was personally acquainted with several of the Arabs and Somalis residing at Brava and Magadosho, and as neither of these ports had been visited by any British ship since they were surveyed

by Captain Owen in 1825, I informed Commander Wilson that the visit of H.M.S. *Gorgon* might be very beneficial in conciliating the inhabitants, and induce them to treat with kindness the crews of any vessels which may be wrecked, or have occasion to visit these ports for trade or refreshments.

"Commander Wilson coincided in my opinion, and accordingly proceeded from Zanzibar direct to Magadosho, where we arrived on the 12th ult. Several of the chief Arabs and Somalis visited the ship and showed a most friendly feeling. They informed me that they had never before seen a steamship, and that no English vessel had visited their port for 37 years. On the ship's boats reaching the shore, 200 Somalis were drawn up as a Guard of Honour to escort the officers into the town, and the Chiefs sent off 25 sheep as a present. The people appeared much gratified at the visit of a British ship of war and their friendly reception on board, and the Chiefs promised to treat kindly any white man who might be wrecked on their coast."

After remaining three days at Magadosho, the *Gorgon* went on to Brava, where the Chiefs and inhabitants were equally friendly. The Sultan of the Somalis, being too ill to visit the ship himself, sent his son on board to represent him, and he was accompanied by the chief Arab residents. On the 29th the *Gorgon* was at Kwyhoo Bay and still rolling in a heavy swell. At Lamoo was found a mail packet, containing at last the leave of absence, delayed because the French ship which had brought it from Aden had been wrecked off Lamoo. To resume the diary:—

"Oct. 5th. Picked up all our boats with a good many captured slaves, and left our uneasy anchorage for the Seychelles. I was very ill, could do nothing but lie on my back motionless all day, never expecting to live to reach Europe.

"Oct. 28th. Arrived at Mahé¹ after a very tedious passage of 25

¹ "Notwithstanding the long and constant knocking about off the barbarous coast of Africa—the heart-sickening work in boat-cruising, the constant exposure to rain and sun, the bad provisions and water, the bad-smelling dhows, slaves and Arabs, the long, monotonous sea-journey across hither, the scarcity of necessaries, the utter want of comforts, and with a debilitating fever—who would not stagger to the deck from a sick bed to gaze on the blessed land? Two-thirds of our officers and a fifth of the men are sick."—Cope Devereux.

days from Kwyhoo. Landed and went to the Seychelles Hotel. . . . I was surprised to find that the Governor of this British Colony and his wife could not speak a word of English.

"Nov. 10th. Went to the Protestant Church with Sewell and Tembo.¹

"11th. Left for Aden.

"I found my impressions of these charming islands quite as favourable as during my previous visit, and greatly enjoyed the delightful climate and beautiful scenery. We found the Hotel very comfortable and very moderate, only 8s. per day each for board and lodging, including wine."²

¹ See below, chapter xv.

² See Appendix.

CHAPTER VI

ZANZIBAR. TRADE, ETC.

To return to Rigby's arrival at Zanzibar in July 1858:—

There must have been considerable difficulty in taking up his task, for the Consulate had been unoccupied for months, and for a considerable period before his death Colonel Hamerton, his predecessor, was generally incapacitated by severe illness from attending to his duties. With the exception of one Arabic and Persian writer he had had no office establishment whatever; no regular files of letters were to be found later than those of 1852, there was no index of letters received or dispatched, papers of years past were in great confusion.¹ Various financial matters had to be settled, stationery had to be requisitioned, the sanction of Government obtained for supporting a Guard and Peons for the Consulate, hitherto kept up by the Agent from his private funds. During August therefore the new Consul's time was fully occupied in reading office records, writing twenty official letters and trying to get the office into order. This was a long process, and as late as November 8th he records in his diary, "I have been confined for some days indexing all the correspondence of the Consulate since 1840."

That he was prepared to take up with enthusiasm interests and duties belonging to a consul in the narrower acceptance of the term may be learnt from some of his earliest letters from Africa. And always a keen geographer, his first care in the interests of trade was to correct geographical errors. In August he wrote:—

"There is an idea amongst naval men in Bombay that you must go down 10 degrees south to make the passage to Zanzibar or the Seychelles at this season [June], and it is a great mistake. There is also another idea, that it is impossible to make the passage from Aden to Zanzibar during the s.w. monsoon. Whenever I inquired whether I could come via Aden, I was told it was impossible; that

¹ Letter to General Coghlan, October 5, 1860.

a vessel would have to cross almost to Bombay before she could make any southing. Now I find that American ships come here regularly every month during the s.w. monsoon, and one arrived lately which made the passage in 24 days. . . . It is a pity that so little is known about the navigation to this place, because the French, Americans and Germans are monopolizing the valuable and fast-increasing trade here to the total exclusion of the English, as you will perceive from the following:—

1858. ARRIVALS OF SHIPS

3 English	1,517 tons
20 Hamburg	5,438 „
24 American	7,215 „
23 French	10,979 „
12 Arab	3,938 „
3 Portuguese	930 „
2 Spanish	460 „
1 Prussian	600 „
1 Danish	450 „
<hr/>	
89 ships	31,527 tons ¹

“And so little is thought about this place in Bombay that the Marine Office had no charts of the Channel, although every foreign vessel coming here has excellent charts of it; and it seemed somewhat humiliating to find that the Commander of one of the Honourable Company’s ships of war was obliged to borrow charts from merchant ships here, because his vessel had been sent to sea without them: and now look at the result. We made the southern point of the Island of Zanzibar in seven days after leaving Mahé. We came up the channel with a fair wind, and were within fifteen miles of the harbour; but it was near sunset, we could not distinguish the coral reefs, not a soul on board knew the place, the vessel had no chart of the channel, so we stood out to the south for the night. At daylight we found the current had set us out to leeward of the Island. We beat against the current for two days, but in vain. We got set to the north close to the Island of Pemba. Had the Captain had any directions for making this harbour, we might easily have come in to the north end of the island, but having no proper charts, he thought it was a great risk to try it; so we stood out to sea to

¹ In 1859 only one British ship (493 tons) arrived at the port, whilst from the U.S.A. came thirty-five (10,890 tons).

the east, and did not get in for six more days, before which the crew were on half allowance of water, and had we missed the point again, we must have run back to Bombay, for the last flour had been issued, and there was very little biscuit or fuel left. . . . This place has never been surveyed since Captain Owen was here in 1824 and 1825, and it is now known his survey is very incorrect. . . .

"There is not much field for a geologist here, for there is scarcely a pebble to be found anywhere. The soil is a rich vegetable mould formed by decayed plants on a bed of coral; but for a botanist this would be a paradise. . . .

"I find in the Meteorological Tables for Zanzibar published in 1850 by the Observatory at Bombay it is stated 'it is evident that but few European constitutions could exist in the climate of Zanzibar.' . . . It is evident that these remarks are quite erroneous, and they do harm by frightening English merchants from coming here. I heard all sorts of absurd stories about this place in Bombay.¹ . . . Zanzibar is rapidly becoming the emporium of all the trade of Eastern Africa and old John Bull is so gulled with accounts of the bad climate, etc., that he won't cut in for a slice of it. Another gross error in the climatology published is that there is no dew here, whereas one of the prettiest features in a morning's walk through the woods is to see the heavy dewdrops on every branch. . . . >>

"A splendid meteor was seen on August 27th. At 7 p.m. about N.E. and 40 degrees above the horizon there was a very brilliant light, and a meteor shot from it and disappeared below the horizon; but the light remained a clear bright streak to the naked eye, appearing about two feet in length for about 20 minutes, when it gradually paled. The stars were shining, and whilst it was visible it was as brilliant as the large stars. I have told you of it as it may have been seen in other parts. I am told that meteors are sometimes very beautiful here; that a while ago one shaped like a tulip, and which stretched across several degrees, was visible for some time.

"I am told by the merchants that during the N.E. monsoon a great deal of fine, regularly cut teak timber is washed ashore on the African coast near Brava: it is much prized, and some of the merchants have sent to their agents at Brava to buy as much as they can of it next season. Where can this come from? They say here it is drifted across from the coast of India. Can it be washed out of any of the rivers in Burmah or Siam? I don't think there is any

¹ No doubt it was largely because of these stories that he was determined to view everything so optimistically at first. Three years later he might have written in a different strain.

teak in Madagascar, or any place to the south of this. It is a very curious circumstance, and I'll make more inquiries about it.

"I have sent some specimens of a very curious vegetable growing in the Governor's garden at Mozambique. It is a sort of potato growing on a tree, of every variety of shape, a dark green colour, inside very like the common potato. The tree grows in the interior of Africa, and is thought a curiosity at the Mozambique."

(The Trade Reports Rigby sent for 1859 were the first to be compiled for Zanzibar. In 1834 the trade was, he said, very trifling—the exports a little gum and ivory and a few cloves, the imports chiefly dates and cloth from Muscat to make turbans. But in 1859 the value of the trade was £1,664,577, this being entirely the growth of a few years, during which the population of the town had rapidly increased, and several French, American and Hamburg mercantile houses had been established. There was then a 5 per cent import duty, but no export duty. The Customs were farmed for terms of five years at the same ratio to a Banian, who in 1859 paid 196,000 German Crowns ($4\frac{1}{2}$ German Crowns = £1 sterling). Customs duties were the only source of revenue, there being no taxation. In 1840 they brought to the Sultan about 50,000 Crowns, in 1859 196,000, in 1870 310,000. The old Customs Master who died during Rigby's term of office left three millions of dollars in cash. In spite of all his preoccupations and difficulties, and often handicapped by illness, Rigby continued to study Zanzibar from every point of view, amassing and recording knowledge with unflagging industry. He communicated the results to the Bombay Government in a comprehensive *Report on the Zanzibar Dominions* dated July 1, 1860, and published in 1861. (See Appendix II.)

One of his constant troubles was the want of regular postal communication, a subject on which he made strong representations to the Secretary of State for India on his return to England. He again pointed out how the rapidly increasing commerce was being monopolized by foreigners, and the trade gradually diverted from Kurrachee and Bombay owing to the German and American merchants at Zanzibar intercepting it and carrying in their ships the coffee, gums, hides, etc., from Muscat

and the wool from Mekran. Zanzibar was also becoming the emporium for the trade of Madagascar, the Comoro Islands and the whole of the East Coast. It was already the chief market of the world for ivory, gum-copal, cloves and cowries, with an increasing export trade in hides, oil, seeds, dyes, etc., while sugar and cotton were promising for the future. Yet all the valuable and increasing trade was lost to British merchants for want of postal facilities, whereas foreign vessels arrived cognisant of the latest state of the markets, and could regulate their purchases and sales. And this with nearly all the local trade in the hands of British subjects! American, French and German merchants conducted nearly all their business through natives of India, who would much have preferred trading with English merchants, so that any dispute arising would be settled in the British Consular Court. As an example of what occurred several times during his residence at Zanzibar, he described how a wealthy native firm at Bombay chartered a large British ship to proceed from Bombay to Zanzibar to load a cargo for London. The letter of advice to their agent at Zanzibar to purchase a cargo was duly sent by the mail steamer, but there being no postal communication, the letter did not arrive till long after the ship. The agent of course had no cargo ready for her, and the foreign merchants, acting on an agreement existing between them for the purpose of excluding British merchants from participation in the trade, ran up the price of all produce in the market 40 per cent, sharing the loss amongst them. The ship waited in vain for a cargo, and was finally dispatched to London in ballast, entailing a heavy loss on the charterers in Bombay. The Consul pointed out that the expense of establishing monthly communication between Zanzibar and the Seychelles in correspondence with the French mail steamers calling there on their way from Aden to La Réunion would be inconsiderable, and believed that important trade would be gained and the slave trade diminished by the diversion of interest to larger profits in legitimate commerce.¹))

¹ See also Appendix II, "Report on the Zanzibar Dominions."

CHAPTER VII

ZANZIBAR. THE REBELLION

As the important events connected with the Rebellion are insufficiently described in the diary, I have omitted passages relating to them from the previous chapter in order to draw also upon other sources, and so form a consecutive narrative incorporating all the information available.

It may justly be claimed that but for the decisive part Rigby played, it is probable that Zanzibar would have become a French possession, and the history of East Africa (possibly also the history of Heligoland!) would have taken a different course.¹

The old Imam² (or Imaum) of Muscat, Saiyid Said, was born in 1791, the son of Ahmed, who founded the dynasty in Oman in 1741. In the highest degree courageous, energetic, shrewd and wealthy, Lyne³ describes him as "one of the most interesting personalities of the nineteenth century, whether we regard him as soldier, sailor, merchant, statesman, prince or conqueror." Sir Bartle Frere also spoke⁴ of his "very important family, a family to which civilization and the English Government in India are under considerable obligations." In his early days he had the conduct of negotiations with Lord Wellesley, and, young as he was, helped to keep the French

¹ The French were there first. We have no record of English ships visiting Zanzibar earlier than 1799, when the *Orestes* and *Leopard* called there. Many of the inhabitants could then speak a little French as a result of the trade they carried on with the French in slaves and coffee. When Colonel Hamerton was appointed Consul in 1840, he found that no British cruiser had visited the place for nine years.

² The title "Sultan" was never used by the old Imam or by his sons Majid and Burghash. There was no value in it as every petty chief assumed it. Saiyid or Seyyid was the title. The title Imam or "High Priest" was not assumed after the time of Ahmed, but was used for his successors by Europeans.

³ R. N. Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905. See also Ingrams' works.

⁴ Evidence, 1871.

out of Eastern seas during the War of the Revolution. It was he who transferred the residence from Muscat to Zanzibar, taking the British Consul with him. Only then did Zanzibar become an important trading-centre. The presence of a British Consul and the feeling that there was always justice to be had where there was one, induced a large number of British Indians to settle there and create trade. Saiyid Said with prescience visioned the possibilities the future held for the port, but his removal thither unfortunately was effected only at the cost of great disorder and danger in Oman. "To the many distinctions which he possessed, one more must be added; he was the greatest slave-dealer in the world. He derived the greater part of his revenue from the sales of slaves."¹ And yet one more distinction: He was credited with one hundred and twelve children, of whom twenty-one were sons, and at his death at the age of sixty-five, after a reign of fifty-two years, he left seventy concubines and thirty-six surviving children.² And the Saiyid withal was large-hearted; when Majid as a child was suffering from convulsions, though he was only a younger son, his father wept bitterly.

The relations between Hamerton, Rigby's predecessor at Zanzibar, and the Saiyid do not seem always to have been of the best. "We find the Seyyid writing to Lord Aberdeen stating that he wished British functionaries in his dominions to be good-tempered men, and to treat him properly." Doubtless so great a man could ill-brook criticism, and Hamerton very justly drew his attention to the ill-effects of an absence from Muscat which nearly caused the loss of all his Asiatic possessions.

In 1844 he appointed his son Saiyid Khalid as his deputy and successor in his Zanzibar Dominions. These extended

¹ R. N. Lyne.

² Though he certainly begat a goodly number, his record in this regard pales beside that of August the Strong, King of Poland (died 1733), of whom Carlyle relates in *Frederick the Great* that his offspring totalled 354. The Sultan of the Bamoum race at Foumban in French Cameroon, Njoya, left 700 wives when he died in 1933.

from about the frontier of the Portuguese territory south of Cape Delgado about 660 miles northward along the coast. As his successor in Muscat he appointed his son Saiyid Thowanee. Khalid died in 1854, and he then appointed his younger son, Majid, to succeed. He died on his frigate *Queen Victoria* on his way to Muscat in October 1856. Thowanee laid claim to Zanzibar as well as Muscat, and trouble began.¹

When Rigby arrived at Zanzibar on July 27, 1858, Saiyid Majid, then living on board his Flagship, repeatedly expressed to him the great satisfaction he felt at again having a British Resident in the Island, and desired him to write to his Government to this effect. Along with Commander Worsley of H.M.S. *Falkland*, Rigby was much struck with the expression of anxiety and suffering on the young ruler's face when first he met him, and soon he learned that this was to be accounted for by the uneasiness caused by the intrigues of his brother Saiyid Burghash with Thowanee. He had for some time been in low spirits, and had frequently given utterance to feelings of the greatest impatience for the arrival of an English Consul, and had even sent privately to the merchants, when any ship from India or Aden put in to his port, to ascertain if one was coming. Pointing to the bare flagstaff at the English Consulate, he would say, "Ah, when shall I again see a flag hoisted there?" Three or four days after the arrival of the *Falkland*, he returned to his Palace, and on the following day, when he received the Consul and officers of the *Falkland*, all were struck with the marked improvement in his appearance, so pleased and free from anxiety did he appear. The Consul presented letters from Her Majesty and from the Earl of Clarendon, the first to reach him from H.M. Government since his accession. These and the arrival of a British warship brought about a feeling of stability and security among the inhabitants in general. Burghash failed to call on the Consul, nor did he

¹ The mothers of Thowanee and Burghash were Abyssinians; Majid's mother was a Circassian. (See *Das Ausland*, February 1860—a monthly periodical published in Munich.)

send any message of welcome as did the other brothers of the Sultan. He never attended the Durbar.

At this time all in Zanzibar, the European and American merchants, the Indian traders and the Arabs alike, bore testimony to the kind and amiable disposition of Majid, praising his justice and his liberal policy, and regarding him as in every respect a most promising young prince.

On the receipt of news from Muscat that Saiyid Thowance was preparing a fleet for the conquest of Zanzibar, Majid resolutely put his Navy in order, and to such good effect that Rigby believed that every ship of the invading force would have been sent to the bottom had it arrived. It consisted of five ships, of which the *Shah Alum* had seven hundred men, and forty-four guns very well served by Turkish gunners. Another ship, the *Artemis*, was commanded by the Sultan of Mohilla, who had one hundred and fifty of his own men on board drilled in the French style, which made them the equals of at least five hundred Muscat Arabs.

For several months there was great excitement on account of the expected invasion, on behalf of which every effort was made by the Sultan's enemies to foment a revolutionary spirit. No less than twenty-five thousand armed men had assembled in the town from all parts of the coast of Africa, from the Comoros, from Hadramaut and the Gulf. Every rascal who could beg or steal a matchlock or a sword scented plunder, and was on the move to join in the looting of this rich city. Rigby got muskets from the Sultan for all his retainers, and made up two hundred cartridges, for it was an anxious time. On January 28, 1859, he sent an emergency requisition to Johanna for one of the vessels of the Cape Squadron to come for the protection of British subjects. But the vessel sent had been tampered with, and was unable to deliver the message for two months. Nevertheless, though so many wild tribesmen were assembled, no European was ever molested. The chief source of alarm was from the armed slaves, many thousands of whom had gathered from the interior of the Island.

Thousands of them paraded daily with flags and music in front of the Consulate, and firing was going on day and night. As they fired with ball to make more noise, they usually shot two or three people daily by accident. Rigby wrote to Commodore Jenkins, R.N., on April 25th:—

“ . . . Many slight circumstances made me suspect that the French were at the bottom of Saiyid Thowanee’s proceedings. . . . The English and American Governments at once recognized Saiyid Majid as Sultan here, but the French Government never took the slightest notice of him, nor of three letters he wrote after his father’s death to Louis Napoleon. . . . After the news arrived by an American ship that Saiyid Thowanee’s expedition had sailed, the French Consul could not conceal his joy. He openly abused Saiyid Majid in the foulest terms, said that he was a ‘*poule mouillée*,’ that not a shot would be fired in his favour, that Saiyid Thowanee would quietly land and assume the Government, etc., and asked me what I intended doing on his arrival. I said I should of course support to the utmost Saiyid Majid as the properly constituted authority to whom I am accredited, and that I should at once call on Saiyid Thowanee, and, by warning him of the just resentment of the British Government if any British subjects suffered in life or property, endeavour to induce him to submit to the arbitration of the British Government. He replied, ‘Why! we shall be acting directly in opposition to each other!’ Before this he had told me that the French Government had not recognized Saiyid Majid in consequence of some secret negotiations the Commander of *La Sibille* had had with Saiyid Thowanee when that vessel was at Muscat, and I hear vessels from La Réunion have since been there. Just before the expected arrival of Saiyid Thowanee, the Sultan’s young brother, Saiyid Burghash, fired a volley of musketry at the Sultan as he was passing his house in a boat about 9.30 p.m. going on board the *Shah Alum*. I was sitting at my window and heard the shots flying past as the boat was pulling along shore. This Burghash is a sullen, morose, discontented character. He has never called on me, and detests all Europeans, but the French have made a fool of him. The *Assaye* arrived on the 2nd March to the great joy of the Sultan and relief of all the peaceable inhabitants. A few days before, the French schooler *L’Estafette*, 8 guns, arrived from the Sultan’s port of Keelwa, where she had been protecting slavers in procuring cargoes. She brought a slave *Délegué en chef*, who has been sent from La Réunion to reside at Keelwa to give passes for all the slaves

embarked. On the 28th March the French corvette *Cordelière*, 30 guns, with Commodore le Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle, 'Commandant of the French naval forces on the East Coast of Africa' (This is a new appointment just made, and since it foreshadows more active intrigue and interference on the East Coast, will require our vessels of war to look out here more than they have done) arrived here, and very soon the French game began to be developed. The first visit the French Commodore and Consul paid the Sultan, they insulted and threatened him openly. The interpreter as usual was speaking in an undertone and in the Arabic language, all but a few confidential Arabs had left the Durbar, and the doors of the audience-hall were closed. They said in a loud commanding tone to the interpreter, 'Have the doors opened, and speak loud and in the African language so that the crowd outside may hear and understand what we are telling His Highness.' They then told him he must not interfere with Saiyid Burghash, that he was under French protection, that he must forgive him and be friends with him, that the *Assaye* was only come from a company, but that the Commodore and *Cordelière* had come direct from the Emperor of the French and would make him do as they wished, that he was very much mistaken if he thought that Saiyid Thowanee turned back because of the English steamer interfering, that it was in consequence of the sickness on board his vessels, that the English had no right to interfere, etc. Then, in order to make the Arabs suspect that their Sultan meditated giving the Island to the English, and thus to create a feeling against him, the Commodore, pointing to the Town Flagstaff said, 'We are happy to see the Arab flag there, but we will never allow any other flag on that staff.' The next day the Sultan visited the *Assaye* and complained to Adams and myself very much of the violent, insulting manner of the French to him. Two days after, the Commodore and Consul again went to the Sultan and took Burghash with them, and made the Sultan shake hands with him, and then placed him close to the Sultan. At this time the Commodore knew of his cowardly attempt to assassinate his brother, for I talked to him about it during a visit on board the *Cordelière*, and by the *Arthur Pickering* the Sultan had received information from Muscat that his brother Burghash and the chiefs of the El Harth¹ tribe had formed a conspiracy against him, and that Thowanee

¹ These chiefs did not care for one brother more than the other. Their hope was to get rid of the whole family and gain possession of the government for themselves. See Sir W. Coghlan quoting Colonel Rigby in his Report, 1860.

had sent them 40,000 dollars to get up a revolution. The night before they took Burghash to the Sultan, the former was a long time at the French Consulate, and then went direct to a secret meeting of the El Harth chiefs, and remained in consultation with them the greater part of the night.

"The *Clive* and *Persian* arrived together on the 6th April, the former to relieve the *Assaye*, the latter sent by the Admiral on the Cape Station because he had seen in a Réunion newspaper a notification that the Governor had appointed Keelwa to be the port of shipment for negroes to Réunion. This was a cool proceeding, Keelwa being one of the Sultan's ports, and the export of negroes being in defiance of his laws and contempt of his authority. As I saw that the French intrigue would cause a revolution here, I detained the *Assaye* and *Persian*, and a few days afterwards, as we were all invited to dine on board the Commodore's ship, I took the opportunity after dinner to have an explanation with him. I told him their interference here was leading to grave disorder and that I believed he must have been entirely misinformed on the state of affairs here. We then called on the French Consul, and Adams and the American Consul joined us soon after. The French Consul at first talked very loud and big, and said that Burghash was under French protection, and no one dare touch a hair of his head. I said, 'What! You dare to come here and take under French protection the rebel subjects of an independent sovereign, and even a scoundrel who has just attempted to assassinate his Sultan and brother! Why, you may just as well go to one of our posts in India and declare Nana Sahib to be under your protection. My Government will never tolerate such unjustifiable interference, and I shall protest in the strongest terms against it. The Sultan here is quite as independent a sovereign as Louis Napoleon in France.' The Consul said the comparison was an insult. I said he might call it what he liked, but that it was the truth. He then said he had instructions from his Government not to recognize any settlement of the disputed succession by British arbitration. Now this convinced me they are at the bottom of Saiyid Thowanee's proceedings. Otherwise how did they know the succession was going to be disputed when no one here knew of it? The American Consul warmly supported me in all I said, and told him that Burghash was a bad, treacherous man and that he ought to recommend his banishment instead of taking him under French protection; and added, if the Sultan, in the exercise of his sovereign authority deems it necessary to banish any of his subjects, do you intend to interfere with force of arms to prevent him? The Commodore then said that after what

we had told him he perceived these were not affairs for ships of war to interfere with. After a warm discussion of two hours, they promised to abstain from all further interference, so I told him on the strength of this promise I should tell the Commanders of the *Assaye* and *Persian* to leave as soon as they pleased. A day or two after, the screw steamer H.M.S. *Lyra*, 10 guns, arrived from Johanna, my requisition for a ship of war sent in January having been delivered only a few days before. Thus we had six ships of war here, a sight never before witnessed at Zanzibar, viz. *Assaye*, *Persian*, *Clive*, *Lyra*, *Cordelière* and *Estafette*. We were all very friendly with the French. The Commodore and a party dined with me, and we had the band of the *Assaye*. But I am certain the lucky presence of our ships here prevented them from carrying out their intrigues to dethrone the Sultan and ruin British influence. The French have for many years coveted a footing on the mainland of Africa. The settlements at Noss Beh and Mayotta are complete failures, and they are backing up Saiyid Thowanee hoping to get Zanzibar declared a dependency of Muscat and then obtain from him the cession of a port—Mombassa, or Lamoo, or Brava. The *Assaye*, *Persian* and *Lyra* have left, but it will be necessary for the *Clive* to remain, for the envoys from Muscat who came in the *Caroline* are actively intriguing to get up a revolt and Thowanee has sent secret letters to the chief Arabs to induce them to do so. Ahmed bin Salem is in close communication with the French Consul. The French Commodore has gone to Réunion for provisions, and thence goes to Muscat. The *Estafette* is to remain here. Now you will see what a double-dealing scoundrel Saiyid Thowanee is, and he is acting entirely under French instigation for the furtherance of their aggressive views on the Zanzibar dominions. He has not the shadow of a claim against his brother. The title of both to rule rests exactly on the same foundation—the will and power of their father to dispose of his dominions as he pleased. Both are illegitimate. There are two sons living of the late Imam's eldest son, also two sons of the late Imam's elder brother, and a son of the late Imam's uncle. In law, either of these has a better claim to rule, but the Imams have always exercised the power of dividing their dominions as they pleased, or of leaving them to any sons they pleased. Thus the grandfather of the late Imam during his own life gave Sohar in sovereignty to his third son and Suweik to his seventh son. The Imam's father succeeded to power when he had two elder brothers living, and the late Imam was himself a younger son when he succeeded.

“Zanzibar is rapidly becoming the chief emporium of trade on the East Coast, and it all passes through the hands of British subjects.

Nearly all the shops here are kept by Banians and Borahs; this is now the chief mart for supplying all the world with cloves, ivory and gum-copal, and there is a great and increasing trade in gums, hides, oil-seeds, sandalwood, dyes, cowries, of which many ship-loads are taken to the West Coast and exchanged for palm-oil. Hostilities here would ruin all this, and impede civilization half a century. The Zanzibar dominions extend for 1,100 miles along the coast; they would break up into a number of petty states, and there would be no check on the slave-trade.

"I have reported Hesketh to Government for withholding from me all knowledge of Thowanee's expedition. He appears to have connived at it, and although two American ships came here, he never sent me a line by either."

When the Indian Government intercepted the sailing of Thowanee's fleet, it seemed as if the worst of Majid's troubles was at an end, and that there might be hope of things settling down again at Zanzibar. Several Arabs received letters from Muscat stating that on the return of Saiyid Hillal, brother-in-law of the late Imam, from Zanzibar, he had informed Thowanee that the chiefs of the El Harth tribe had been imposing upon him and had appropriated for themselves the money he had sent to excite a revolution. Upon this Thowanee seized and confiscated a large new ship belonging to the principal chief of the El Harth. Majid for his part had arrested all the principal chiefs of the tribe, but soon released several who gave security for good behaviour, retaining at first five, and then but three, in irons. The arrest had been effected without bloodshed but there was considerable excitement in the town for a few days, the El Harth calling in their slaves from the plantations and threatening to set fire to the town at night, if their chiefs were not released. Finding the Sultan firm, and receiving the unfavourable news from Muscat, they soon became humble and submissive, and dispersed, leaving the town tranquil and the confidence of its inhabitants restored. Further, the Sultan compelled Burghash to dismiss the dangerous rabble he had collected as soldiers, and told him that unless he embarked for Muscat in Thowanee's ship of war *Caroline* of

his own free will, he would cause him to be arrested and sent away.

It seemed as if the trouble was at an end, but the snake was only scotched. An unscrupulous, intriguing cousin of the rival sultans, Ahmed bin Salem, had been sent by Thowanee in the *Caroline*. In spite of all pressure he invented one excuse after another to delay his departure. He frequently visited the French Consul, and towards the end of July Majid remonstrated with that official against the attention he was paying to his statements and his obvious attempts to arouse the hostility of the French against himself. The Consul thereupon attended the Durbar, and told Ahmed bin Salem publicly there that he would not receive him at his house again. A few days later Ahmed bribed with three thousand dollars a confidential Albanian Jemadar in the household of the Sultan to assassinate His Highness, but the plot was discovered and the man was arrested and imprisoned in the Fort. He soon made his escape from the top of the walls, and took refuge in the British Consulate, but Rigby at once delivered him up to a guard. Majid was convinced that his brother had again been privy to the attempt upon his life, and on his objecting to sail in the *Caroline*, directed his frigate *Piedmontese* to convey him to any port in Oman, starting within ten days of the order. He had already intercepted two letters written by a resident at Aden to Burghash showing that the latter had been carrying on a secret correspondence through him with the French Consul at Aden. At the Sultan's request, Rigby forwarded these letters to Brigadier Coghlan, our Political Resident at Aden. To the Indian Government he now reported that he believed all fear of any disturbances occurring in the Zanzibar Dominions had now passed away. He stated that it was universally admitted that it was entirely owing to the presence of the British ships of war that an outbreak involving anarchy, bloodshed and the ruin of all legitimate trade in favour of the slave trade was avoided. On August 15th Lord Elphinstone and the Board conveyed to him their appreciation of his

services, and on October 5th again passed a resolution "that Colonel Rigby be informed that his proceedings are fully approved," Elphinstone and three other members of the Board signing the dispatch.

Only four days later Rigby was compelled to write a dispatch narrating fresh perils. Burghash had expressed his willingness to leave, but after putting off his departure under various pretences for several days, at length firmly refused to go. He collected in his house a number of the younger children of the late Imam, together with their mothers, prepared several barrels of gunpowder and declared he would fire them if His Highness attempted to force his departure. Majid placed a guard near the house with orders to prevent all ingress or egress, thus cutting off the supply of water. Burghash, cornered, sent a message to Rigby by the Banian Customs Master to the effect that he would be guided entirely by his advice, and do whatever he recommended. In reply, the Consul informed him that he had long much regretted his hostile conduct to His Highness, that the British Government were equally the well-wishers of all the sons of the late Imam, and that he earnestly recommended him to embark quietly as he had promised. He assured him that no injury was intended him, and that no punishment was involved in quitting Zanzibar for a time, and that he would be conveyed in a style befitting his position to any port he pleased, and that the Sultan had directed his Customs Master to supply him liberally with money. He promised compliance, and wrote to Majid stating that as he was uncertain how Thowanee would receive him, he would proceed to Maculla and there await an answer from Muscat. But at the same time he stated he would much prefer to travel in a buggalow instead of in a ship of war. The Sultan thereupon chartered a large buggalow and his brother promised to embark on October 7, 1859. He sent all his baggage and provisions on board, and on the Thursday gave a solemn assurance that he would sail after prayers the following day. But during the night he escaped into the interior of the Island,

and the next morning wrote to say that, wishing to avoid embarking in public, he desired the buggalow might be sent to a spot about six miles to the north of the town. Instead of sailing as promised, he took possession of a large country house belonging to the family of a deceased brother, had all the cocoanut-trees cut down to form stockades, destroyed the clove plantations for some distance round the house, forced the slaves on the neighbouring plantations to join him, and openly expressed his intention to seize the government of the Island.

Immediately the news reached Rigby, he used his utmost endeavours to urge the Sultan to adopt energetic measures. He pointed out that every hour would increase the difficulty by permitting Burghash to entrench himself and collect men by promise of pay and plunder. It was clear to him that Burghash had long entertained his design and that he was relying on the hope of support either from the French or from the northern Arabs. The Arabs maintained that he would not carry out his promise of embarking, because he was expecting a French ship of war. Rigby took the responsibility of detaining the *Assaye* which was due to leave on Tuesday the 11th, but nothing he could urge could persuade Majid to overcome the habit of procrastination dear to the Arab heart. It was only on the afternoon of the 12th that he at last assembled some five thousand men and marched out the eight miles to Beit-el-Ras, a country house of the late Imam situated on the seashore. All the principal men went with him, and the town was left in charge of his Secretary, an old man in feeble health. Only one hundred Belooch Sepoys remained to guard the Fort and Palace. On the 13th came news that houses were being plundered and burnt and clove plantations destroyed all over the interior of the Island. There was a total stoppage of all trade in the town, the shops were all closed, and all who could procure boats escaped with their families to the mainland. Towards evening the town was in a state of anarchy, shots were flying in every direction and a British subject, one of the

principal Banian merchants, was shot dead at his own door, while another British subject was dangerously wounded. The same evening H.M. Steam Sloop *Lynx*, under Lieutenant Berkeley, R.N., arrived from Johanna. The Sultan remained inactive at Beit-el-Ras after the effort of getting there, so the Consul requested Commander Adams and Lieutenant Berkeley, with as many officers as could be spared, to accompany him in five boats at gunfire next morning to call upon His Highness. The Sultan with all his chief men received the deputation, and Rigby addressed him, pointing out the deplorable results which would ensue from continued inaction. He informed him of the outrages committed on British subjects, and stated that he should hold the chiefs responsible in case of any repetition of them, as he was aware His Highness was remaining inactive by their advice contrary to his own wishes.

The result was that Majid immediately started with his whole force to attack the rebels. At his request Lieutenant Berkeley and several of the young officers of the Queen's ships accompanied him. After advancing about ten miles into the interior, the officers rode forward to reconnoitre. On approaching the rebel position, they were received with a discharge of cannon and musketry.

It soon became evident that the rebellion was of a more serious nature than had been supposed. The position occupied consisted of a very large two-storied stone building with several smaller buildings detached, the whole surrounded with a thick stone wall. It had evidently long been prepared for defence, the walls having been loopholed and protected with sandbag parapets. It was occupied by about five hundred men, chiefly Arabs of the El Harth tribe and Bedouins from the Persian Gulf. Three brass guns were mounted.

After very great exertions the British officers got two guns and some rockets in position. They remained serving them for several hours, exposed to a heavy fire and supported only by a few Turkish gunners, the whole of the Sultan's troops remaining in the rear, refusing to advance and storm the place

even after the officers had blown open the gates and inner doors, and although the Sultan and his younger brother, Prince Abdool Wahab, placed themselves at their head and endeavoured to induce them to advance. About sixty men of the Sultan's troops were killed and wounded. In the evening the officers returned to their ships.

The following day, the Sultan, finding all his efforts fail to induce his troops to storm the position, sent an application to the Consul for the aid of Her Majesty's troops, and Rigby thereupon requested Commander Adams, in conjunction with Lieutenant Berkeley, to send such a force as he deemed requisite to secure the capture of the enemy's position.

At daylight the following morning a detachment of twelve officers and one hundred petty officers and seamen, with one 12-pound howitzer and some rockets, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Berkeley, disembarked and marched to attack the rebels. On arriving at the position, it was found evacuated, so Berkeley, having, at the Sultan's request, blown up the buildings, bivouacked for the night.

After Adams and Rigby had superintended the disembarkation of the detachment at Beit-el-Ras and sent on the requisite ammunition and provisions, they had returned to the town to take measures for its protection. Rigby proceeded to the Palace to place guards, and while there he received information from a spy that Saiyid Burghash and his followers had approached the town during the night and had proposed firing and plundering it. Some of the El Harth Arabs fortunately had their families in the town and dissuaded Burghash from the project.

During the day the Consul was secretly informed by one of the El Harth that Burghash was secreted in his own house in the town, that the rebels were disheartened by the severe loss they had suffered from the rockets and guns, between fifty and sixty of their number having been killed, and that the tribesmen wished to make their submission. He immediately set guards of the Sultan's troops round Burghash's house, and

sent a messenger to Majid requesting him to send in some person with authority to enter the house and capture the rebel. He also requested Adams to send an officer and twenty seamen to guard the house at night, and himself remained with the Commander at the Palace until near midnight, when His Highness's nephew, Saiyid Saood, arrived with two hundred men and orders from the Sultan to capture Burghash at all hazards. Rigby thereupon arranged with him to storm the house next morning at daybreak, if Burghash refused to give in.

Accordingly, the following morning Rigby proceeded to the house and summoned the inmates to surrender, threatening to storm it. After a parley of about two hours, during which the house was found to be strongly barricaded, only five minutes before the ultimatum expired, Burghash came out crying, and delivered his sword to the Consul. He was escorted by a party of seamen to the Sultan's Palace. A brass gun and arms for eight hundred men were found in the house, and four hundred muskets were also found in the house of Abdoolla bin Salim, the principal chief of the El Harth tribe, who was then consigned to prison.

The Sultan returned to the town about midday with all his troops and the British Naval detachment. He was received with the joyful acclamations of the whole population, rice and grain and flowers being showered from the houses on the troops and seamen, this being the Arab mode of showing joy and welcome. Rigby was ready at the Palace to receive the Sultan, who immediately assembled all the principal chiefs to decide what should be done to Burghash. They all desired that as he had surrendered to the Consul, the Consul should determine what measures should be taken. He therefore sent for Burghash, and on his entering the Durbar addressed him regarding his wicked conduct in causing the death of so many of the Sultan's subjects. He told him Majid was willing to pardon him if he would solemnly promise to quit Zanzibar for ever and always attend to the advice of the British Government. He replied

that he would submit to the Consul's advice in everything. The next day, Rigby, Adams, Berkeley and several Naval officers attended the Durbar, when Burghash wrote out a formal engagement to quit the Zanzibar Dominions for ever, never to plot or wage war against Majid, to proceed to any port the Consul might fix on, and always to act according to the wishes of the British Government. This paper was signed by the Consul and all the officers present, as also by all the Arab chiefs, and Burghash then took a solemn oath on the Koran always to abide by it, adding in a loud voice, "I swear I will never again listen to the advice of the French, nor of the El Harth, nor of anyone except the British Government." The paper was then delivered to the Sultan, who requested that Burghash might be conveyed to Muscat in the *Assaye*. Burghash appeared afraid to trust himself on board a British warship, thinking that his having fired on the officers would not be forgiven. He pleaded hard to be allowed to embark on a ship just about to sail, but some hours after, on receiving from Rigby a passport in Arabic and English requesting the British authorities and agents at any ports he might touch to treat him with the respect and consideration due to a son of the late Imam of Muscat, he became reassured and sent his nephew to the Consul to beg that he might be allowed to embark in the *Assaye*. Rigby and Adams received him when he came on board.

The El Harth tribesmen made their submission to the Sultan and, with the exception of the principal chiefs, were pardoned. They had suffered heavy loss, for all their estates in the interior had been plundered and burnt and their slaves had dispersed.

Thus ended the Rebellion. Rigby gave his own considered judgment of the part he played in quelling it in his evidence twelve years later before the Slave Trade Committee. "No doubt," he said, "the Sultan would have lost his life and the whole of his dominions would have been in a state of anarchy, had not he given me sole authority over the town to do what

I liked." Diplomatic considerations then and for many years forbade any reference to the far greater issues involved in the defeat of the underlying intrigue of the French to become the dominating authority on the East Coast. Rigby completed his long dispatch of October 21st to Bombay in the following terms:—

"I am fully aware of the responsibility I have incurred by complying with the requisition of His Highness for the aid of Her Majesty's troops, and that I should not have been justified in doing so had it been a case of His Highness's subjects endeavouring to rid themselves of an unpopular or tyrannical ruler, but it was not so. Saiyid Burghash had been provided with a large sum of money by the ruler of Muscat purposely to stir up a revolution; he had also been generously provided by His Highness with a sum of ten thousand dollars only the day before he fled into the interior. With this money he was enabled to attract to him a great number of mercenary Arabs who come here from the North eager for an opportunity to rob and plunder, and it is at this season that they usually arrive here by thousands. Whilst the Sultan was at Beit-el-Ras he sent me a private note saying that he was certain the French Consul had instigated Saiyid Burghash to rebel. That day H.M.S. *Lynx* arrived here, and Lieutenant Berkeley informed me that the French Corvette *Cordelière* had sailed from Mozambique, it was supposed for Zanzibar direct, and it was therefore probable that on the arrival of the *Cordelière* the French would openly protect Saiyid Burghash, as during the former visit of that vessel. The town was being rapidly deserted, no food of any description was procurable in the markets for several days; there are nearly five thousand peaceable British subjects residing here who looked only to me for protection of their lives and property. One respectable Indian merchant had been murdered, and I foresaw entire ruin and anarchy unless the rebellion were speedily suppressed, for the savage passions of these semi-barbarous races were now being aroused. These considerations induced me to afford the aid requested, and I trust that my proceedings during what has been a period of great anxiety and responsibility may meet the approval of His Lordship in Council.

"I do not think that there is the slightest fear of any disturbance occurring here in future; confidence is restored and trade resumed. The *Assaye* is therefore about to proceed to Muscat and the *Lynx* to the Cape of Good Hope, the latter vessel having on board seventy

slaves taken in a dhow belonging to one of the El Harth chiefs, who is in prison.

"The conspicuous gallantry of the British officers in serving the guns and rockets at the attack of the enemy's position when none of the Sultan's troops would advance to support them is talked of with admiration by all classes and has greatly increased the prestige of the British name. By desire of His Highness, I have addressed letters of thanks in his name to Commander Adams, Lieutenant Berkeley and their officers, and I have also brought to the notice of His Excellency the Admiral Commander-in-Chief of the Cape Squadron the good service performed by Lieutenant Berkeley and the crew of H.M.'s Sloop *Lynx*.

"I have also the honour to forward for the information of His Lordship in Council the accompanying copies of three letters I have addressed to Commander Adams."

The first letter was the request for a force to assist the Sultan, the second was that conveying the Sultan's thanks and appreciation of the services rendered, and the third requested the conveyance of Saiyid Burghash to Muscat, with an appeal that he should be treated with due consideration, but only allowed to receive visits from members of his family accredited by the British authorities.

"MINUTE BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR CONCURRED
IN BY THE HONOURABLE MESSRS MALET AND REEVES, DATED
20TH NOVEMBER, 1859.

"Colonel Rigby has acted throughout these affairs with great judgment, decision and energy, and in my opinion he is entitled to the entire approbation and cordial thanks of Government.

"This dispatch with an expression of the opinion of this Government upon Colonel Rigby's conduct should be forwarded to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State by the outgoing mail.

"(signed) ELPHINSTONE.

"A. MALET.

"H. W. REEVES."¹

¹ Lyne's comment on these events (*Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*) is: "He [Majid] was defended from this assault by the intervention of the

Burghash was finally sent to Bombay, as Rigby had told him he would be when first he surrendered. He was granted a house, a carriage and 1,000 Rupees a month, and in every way treated with liberality and respect as a son of our old ally. He returned to Zanzibar some eighteen months later very much the wiser for his experiences. His subsequent career justified the singular leniency with which at Rigby's instigation he had been treated by the brother he had twice tried to assassinate. Rigby understood the Oriental character so well that he had not condemned Burghash as an individual for crimes which in an Arab prince involved but little, if any, moral turpitude. A struggle for the succession was normal among his race, and assassination, attempted or successful, little deprecated. It was the French he blamed for his misdeeds. To Playfair, who became Consul in 1863, Burghash freely admitted that before he left Zanzibar he had no idea of a power superior to that of his father, and had not the remotest conception of the condition of more civilized nations. At Bombay his eyes had been opened to the advantages which civilization carries in its train, and above all he saw that Zanzibar was not a spot so far superior to the rest of the world that Europeans would always be scheming to obtain possession of it. He was now able to conceive that the Agent or Consul of a foreign Power might possibly tender advice to the Sultan without any ulterior motives. After his return he behaved in the most exemplary manner, fully redeeming his pledge that he would abstain from any act of opposition to Majid. He lived

British Consul, a man who, fortunately for Majid, was not afraid of responsibility."

The German missionary, Herr Rebmann, wrote to Dr. Krapf, September 22, 1859, "dass die Insel Sansibar mit einer gefährlichen Revolution bedroht war, die aber noch zur rechten Zeit durch die Wachsamkeit und Energie der Engländer verhindert wurde," and "Ware er [Thowanee] wirklich mit seinen wilden Arabern gekommen, so wären wir und alle Europäer auf der Insel in nicht geringer Gefahr gewesen." (*Das Ausland*, February 1860. Munich.) ("... the Island of Zanzibar was threatened by a dangerous revolution which was stopped just in time by the watchfulness and energy of the English. . . . Had he [Thowanee] really come with his wild Arabs, we and all the Europeans on the Island should have been in no little danger.")

in perfect seclusion¹ until on his brother's death in 1870 he succeeded to the throne. He never bore the slightest resentment against Rigby for his part in suppressing the rebellion, but corresponded with him and sent him presents long after he had left the Island.

Majid, though he forgave his brother in a certain measure and soon permitted his return to Zanzibar, could never be persuaded to receive him again. He ended the long written statement on the whole affair which he gave to General Coghlan:—

“We found a note from Burghash addressed to the French Consul Cochet, wherein he writes, ‘What is your opinion if, in coming to the town to attack Majid, we meet with any English or other Christians on the road. Shall we kill them or not? Give me your reply on this point.’ We also heard (but God knows the truth) that while Burghash was in the gardens, the French Consul used to supply him with munitions of war.

“As to the El Harth, after God had permitted them to be deluded, they repented of their evil deeds, and came in a body to confess their faults and to ask forgiveness. This was granted and they then vowed to be obedient to me, and to take part with me against every opponent. At present they appear to be loyal, but God only knows what is in their hearts.

“Written by the unworthy Majid with his own hand.”

War with Thowanee was threatened, but both parties were persuaded to refer the question to the arbitration of the Governor-General of India, and to abide by his decision. A Commission headed by Brigadier-General Coghlan was appointed to investigate the case, and arrived at Zanzibar at the end of September 1860. As Interpreter and Translator came the Rev. George Percy Badger, author of the great *Arabic Dictionary* (1881). In his Report, dated Bombay, November 1860, Coghlan recognized “the ready aid” afforded him by Rigby in prosecuting his researches, and quoted largely

¹ India Office, Pol. Dept. MSS. Dispatches from Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair, 1865.

from his answers to questions submitted to him. For example:—

“I consider that the connection which existed between Oman and a country so far remote as East Africa was always an unnatural one, and ever prejudicial to the interests of both countries. This I mean with reference to the want of all system and regularity in the government of Arab states, in which everything depends on the personal influence and presence of the ruling chief. The selections from the records of the Bombay Government relating to the Persian Gulf abundantly prove the dangers and disorders which constantly threatened the late Imam’s possessions in Oman in consequence of his absence at Zanzibar. On several occasions the danger was only averted by the influence and intervention of the British Government. Had the late Imam continued to reside at Muscat, it is probable that with his energetic, shrewd character he would have greatly extended his power, and firmly established it. . . .”

The Commission completely adopted Rigby’s views. On the evidence of the Report, Lord Canning gave an Award in 1861 to which both parties agreed, viz. that Saiyid Majid should be declared ruler of Zanzibar and the African dominions of the late Saiyid Said, but that he was to make an annual payment of 40,000 German Crowns¹ in perpetuity to Muscat. This payment was not however to be considered as implying the dependence of Zanzibar on Muscat. It was rather to be made because Zanzibar was so infinitely richer a territory than Muscat.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby was conveyed the approval of His Excellency in Council of the judicious advice offered by him to Majid, especially in respect of the liberation of the chiefs of the El Harth tribe, which, it was hoped, would, among other advantages, “tend to perpetuate the tranquillity of the Zanzibar territory by burying former disputes in oblivion.”

Majid himself wrote to him in Arabic (June 29, 1861) to express his gratification at the Award, saying, “I feel very much obliged to the British Government for all its kindness

¹ Or Maria Theresa Dollars, of which about 4½ equalled £1 in value.

and favour, and for having averted from My Dominions disorders and hostilities. During my lifetime I shall never forget the kindness which it has shown to me." He signed this "From the confiding slave in God's mercy, Majid bin Said." The letter should be compared with his behaviour only a month later—his letter of July 25th, etc. (see Chapter XI.)

On the death of Thowanee and succession of Saiyid Salim at Muscat in 1866, Majid protested against the continuance of the subsidy, on the ground that the engagement was personal to Thowanee, and that Salim as a parricide could not legally succeed his father. These arguments were untenable in spite of their reasonableness, the former because by the terms of the Award each successor of Thowanee was entitled to claim the subsidy, and the latter because Salim was *de facto* ruler at Muscat, and had been recognized as such by the British Government. Majid was obliged to pay up the subsidy with arrears, a compromise being effected in that he had not to pay it direct to the murderer of his brother, but through the medium of the British Government.¹

¹ India Office Papers, "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads", *India*, vol. xiii, part iv.

CHAPTER VIII

ZANZIBAR. THE SLAVE TRADE

THERE can be little doubt that the Slave Trade which stained the world with almost incredible iniquity far less than a hundred years ago, and left the very foulest blot on the history of the nineteenth century, was almost wholly due, at least in its worst aspects, to European impact on the unhappy races of Africa. What does not America, what does not Europe, with all the material advances due to its colonies, its imports and the industries dependent on them, owe to the agonies of the black man without whose labour so much that we white races reckon as "civilization" would never have been? Never in all History has there been cruelty on a vaster scale, never a more ghastly callousness to human suffering, never greater wastefulness in the human life which we regard as the most valuable of all earth's products, than during the years of which the European races, when their thoughts, as almost invariably, are turned only on themselves and their "Progress," are so proud.¹

For a full understanding of what Rigby was up against, and of what he achieved in a cause in which he never sheathed his sword, it will be necessary to review at some length the Slave Trade as he found it on taking up his duties at Zanzibar. There can be no better introduction than a quotation from Livingstone's *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1858-1864 (p. 391).

"Would that we could give a comprehensive account of the horrors of the Slave Trade with an approximation to the number of lives it yearly destroys! For we feel sure that were even half the

¹ As an indication of the state of public opinion in the middle of the nineteenth century, it is noteworthy that in 1854 subscriptions and donations to the Anti-Slavery Society amounted only to £780, and in 1860 to about £1,200.

truth told and recognized, the feelings of men would be so thoroughly roused, that this devilish traffic in human flesh would be put down at all risks; but neither we, nor anyone else, have the statistics necessary for a work of this kind.¹

"Let us state what we do know of one portion of Africa, then every reader who believes our tale can apply the ratio of the known misery to find out the unknown. We were informed by Colonel Rigby, late H.M. Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, that 19,000 slaves from this Nyassa country alone pass annually through the Custom House of that island. This is exclusive of course of those sent to Portuguese slave-ports.² Let it not be supposed for an instant that this number 19,000 represents all the victims. . . . Besides those actually captured, thousands are killed and die of their wounds and famine, driven from their villages by the slave-trade proper. Thousands perish in internecine war waged for slaves with their own clansmen and neighbours, slain by the lust of gain. . . . The many skeletons we have seen, amongst rocks and woods, by the little pools and along the paths of the wilderness, attest the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed, directly or indirectly, to this trade of hell. . . . It is our deliberate opinion from what we know and have seen, that not one-fifth of the victims of the slave-trade ever become slaves. Taking the Shire Valley as an average, we should say not even one-tenth arrive at their destination."³

¹ Probably Livingstone was too optimistic in his faith in humanitarian feeling. The facts were before the public for years, but the Slave Trade died hard and slave-holding in the British dominions actually only came to an end in 1927 (in Sierra Leone). Are there many men or women whose humanity, shocked at the barbarities of the past, is not blind to some of the cruelties of the present? It is likely that the most human of to-day are condoning and tacitly perpetuating inhumanities which a later age will justly condemn. How repeatedly have the sufferings involved, for example, in our tolerance of slums, in our methods of slaughter for food, in our fur and feather trades been presented with full statistical evidence, and how little response has been made! For the Fur Trade, e.g., see *The Spectator* of September 18, 1926, which contains a peculiarly convincing article by an ex-trapper. He estimated that about ONE HUNDRED MILLION animals are slaughtered IN AGONY every year, mainly for no useful purpose, but to gratify the vulgar vanity of the "gentle" sex. "The suffering," he said, "is atrocious." But only a tiny minority takes any notice of such suffering.

² Exclusive also of about five thousand per annum imported by relatives of the Sultan. These did not pass through the Custom House—no duty was paid on them. See Report of the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves, 1876. Major-General Rigby's Evidence.

³ See also p. 129 of Livingstone's book: "Colonel Rigby, Captains Wilson, Oldfield and Chapman, and all the most intelligent officers on the Coast

The East African traffic thus described was carried on for the most part by Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar, or by Portuguese subjects. These dealers would start for the interior well armed and provided with articles such as beads and cotton-cloth to barter for slaves. On arriving at the scene of their operations, they would excite the cupidity of native chiefs by the display of muskets, powder and the goods brought as purchase-money. They would sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Such assistance almost invariably secured victory to the side they supported, and the captives became their property, either by "right" or by purchase for a few yards of cloth. In the course of such warfare the villages would be burnt and the women and children carried away.¹ The worst field of operations was from Lake Nyassa to the south, with Keelwa as the port of shipment. The whole of this vast and rich country was rapidly becoming depopulated. Banians who had been for years at Zanzibar told Rigby that they remembered that when they first came to the coast the whole country was densely populated, but now it was necessary to go about eighteen days' journey inland before finding a village.} Dr Roscher and Baron von der Decken fully confirmed this, the latter describing miles and miles of ruined towns and villages the whole way up towards the Lake. Every year the trade of necessity had to extend further inland, so that now slaves were brought even from the western side of the Lake, and the Arabs had placed dhows upon it on purpose to carry them across. Livingstone in a letter describing

were unanimous in the belief that one small vessel on the Lake [Nyassa] would have decidedly more influence, and do more good, in suppressing the slave trade than half a dozen men-of-war on the ocean." And p. 476: "We resolved . . . to sail along the eastern shore of the Lake, and round the northern end, and also to collect data by which to verify the information collected by Colonel Rigby that the nineteen thousand slaves who go through the Custom House of Zanzibar annually, are chiefly drawn from Lake Nyassa and the valley of the Shire."

E. F. Berlioux also quotes Rigby's figures in *La Traite Orientale*, 1870, pp. 256, 267. See chapter xiii below.

¹ Report of the Select Committee. Addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, 1871.

his first visit to the Manganga country said that the whole population was engaged in the cultivation and working up of cotton, and he had never seen such wonderful cotton country or such fertile land in his life. But a year or two afterwards he found this same country entirely depopulated and all the huts full of dead bodies.¹ Country he found so thickly populated in 1859 that there were villages every two miles or less was so changed that, revisited in 1861, he had to cross a tract of 120 miles without meeting a human being.² And about this time when registering emancipated slaves, Rigby found that among the recent arrivals very many named their tribe as Manganga. The M'Do tribe, which some years ago had furnished most of the slaves brought to Zanzibar, he found to be quite extinct, and the Mizan tribe, which had occupied a very large extent of rich cotton-producing country, nearly exhausted.³ Natives of Keelwa stated that it was only within the last ten or twelve years that the Arabs had gone into the interior with large numbers of armed followers systematically to hunt for slaves, and an Arab from Keelwa informed Rigby that he had travelled fourteen days through a country he had known prosperous, but now so ruined that no living soul was to be seen.

What actually befell after a slave-raid was as follows. The men for the most part slain or *hors de combat*, and a sufficient number of victims having been rounded up to allow for heavy losses by the way, the slaves were divided into gangs and the start was made. The slaves first captured would not be taken straight to the coast, but be marched about the country until the whole caravan was ready. The males had their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks which at night were fastened to the ground or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. These forks were kept on their necks from the time of capture until they were delivered to the shipper, it might be for as

¹ Rigby. Evidence before the Committee, 1871.

² Rev. H. Waller. Evidence before the Committee, 1871.

³ Brigadier-General Coghlan. Evidence before the Committee, 1871. Quoting Reports of Colonel Rigby, "who has spared no pains to collect the most authentic information on the subject."

long as three months. The women and children were bound with thongs. All marched single file in a long string. In some cases few but children were taken, the reason given by the dealers being that children are driven more easily, like flocks of sheep, or tied together with ropes and chains. A member of Livingstone's party (George Rae) narrated, "I have myself seen bands of them—four or five hundred at a time—newly captured as one could see by their necks all chafed and bleeding, their eyes streaming with tears, principally young men of from ten to eighteen years of age, driven along in a most inhuman manner." Cruel whips were freely used, and any attempt to loosen the bonds or escape, any wavering or lagging, was punished with instant death. The sick were left behind, and the route of a caravan could always be traced by the dying, or the dead, or the skeletons. A soldier told Rigby that the road to the coast "stank with corpses. He had seen fifteen slaves felled to death by blows between the eyes with clubs, and many were strangled." Another eye-witness recorded, "One poor woman had a child on her back which she had recently given birth to, and which she was too weak to carry further. The slave-dealer took it by the heels, and dashed its brains against a tree. Another woman was ill and could not keep in the line, and the dealer dashed her brains out with the axe, and she was cut out of the slave-thong." Of food, needless to say, only the absolute minimum was given by the way, and such slaves as reached the coast arrived in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation. Baron von der Decken saw women so thin that the outlines of their unborn children could plainly be traced. And always the dealers only valued their captives at the price they were likely to fetch in the market, and if any were not likely to pay the cost of conveyance, they were simply got rid of. On a short march of six hundred slaves, one hundred and twenty-five expired on the road. The mortality was seldom less than 20 per cent.¹ Horace Waller,² describing the mortality on

¹ Commodore Wise to Admiral Grey, July 20, 1857.

² Evidence, 1871.

the slave routes, said, "It is like sending up for a large block of ice to London in the hot weather; you know that a certain amount will melt away before it reaches you in the country as it travels down; but that what remains will be quite sufficient for your wants." Further numbers died of starvation, dysentery, fever and other diseases while waiting for shipment after reaching the barracoons on the beaches.

It was impossible, wrote Rigby, to conceive a more revolting sight than was the landing at Zanzibar of the slaves from Keelwa. They were brought in open boats, packed so closely that they were exposed day and night to sun, wind and rain, with only sufficient grain to keep them from starvation. If the boats met with contrary winds, they generally ran short of water, and thirst was added to other miseries. On arrival they were frequently in the last stage of lingering starvation, unable to stand. Some dropped dead in the Custom House or in the streets, others, not likely to recover, were left on board to die that the owner might avoid the duty levied on those landed, a dollar being charged for each passed through the Custom House.¹ Or they would be laid out on the sand so helpless they could not move hand or foot, and left there for twenty-four hours to see if they would recover sufficiently to make it worth while to take them to the market. If not, they would simply be abandoned, and their bodies be left to wash about with the ebb and flow of the tide. In 1842 Colonel Hamerton on one occasion counted as many as fifty bodies of slaves on the shore being devoured by dogs. Slaves were frankly and simply regarded as cattle; not the slightest attention was paid to their sufferings, for they were too cheap to be cared for. In 1860 they were sold in the interior at about half a dollar a head, or five might be given in exchange for a cow or bullock. "Slaves are so cheap that a cannibal might live cheaper on human beings than on butcher's meat—a slave costs less than a sheep," wrote Cope Devereux. Grant remarked: "It is a very striking, though most humiliating, sight to observe one of the Zanzibar

¹ In 1860 this was increased to two dollars.

rakish-looking crafts (felucca-rigged) arrive from Ibo, on the mainland, crammed with naked slaves for the market—all as silent as death. The Arab owners, gaily dressed, stand at the stern, and one holds the colours, in seeming defiance of the British Consulate, as he sails past.”¹

After landing, the slaves would be kept for some time in the dealers’ houses until they gained flesh and strength, and were fit to be sold by auction in the slave-market. Here their value was already so enhanced that the dealer was recouped for all his losses. In 1863 prices had fallen, but adult men were selling at from ten to twelve dollars, women at nine to ten dollars, boys seven to eight, girls at fifteen. Reshipped to Muscat, the slave on arrival there would be worth four or five times as much, but the mortality on the voyage was very high and much reduced the profit.

The Zanzibar market itself offered a most degrading spectacle. Negroes were trotted out in a business-like way; the women were felt and squeezed. Their legs, ankles and teeth were examined in a disgusting way by the dealers.² For those whose lot was domestic slavery on the plantations or in the houses of Zanzibar, the auction once at an end, the worst of their sufferings were over, for Arabs, apart from the dealers, were kind to their slaves. But whatever their experiences, few children were born to them, and their average remaining life was only from seven to eleven years. So a constant fresh supply was needed.³ For those who were bought afresh by dealers, or had not even been landed, the worst was yet to come, for there lay before them the terrible experience of a long voyage in a dhow or in the stifling hold of an American, French or Spanish ship.

Zanzibar was the great rendezvous of the dhows engaged in the trade. They are described by Cope Devereux as of two kinds. The southern ones were like Chinese junks, heavy poop, sharp sloping in the bow and stern, varying from ten

¹ *A Walk Across Africa*, 1864.

² Cope Devereux, *The Cruise of the "Gorgon."*

³ Horace Waller, *Heligoland for Zanzibar*.

to a hundred tons, with one or two masts according to size, with very long lateen yards and sails, the largest with stern windows. These would sail "like witches" before the wind, but badly on other points. They were generally armed with old flintlock muskets, sometimes with a small three-pounder gun, along with assegais, daggers and two-handed swords, but would generally yield to a British pursuer without fighting, hauling down their sails as soon as roundshot was fired. These generally procured their slaves along the coast up concealed rivers and bays, and thence the victims would be shipped direct to Madagascar for transhipment to European ships. The northern dhow was a large boat with a straight stern, more neatly built than the southern but with the same huge sails. Its most distinctive characteristic was the hurricane-rudder standing high above the stern, managed by yoke-lines rove through outriggers on the quarter and carried inboard. The cutting of these lines rendered it unmanageable. Such were the dhows which plied between Zanzibar and Muscat and the Persian Gulf. When chased they threw their slaves overboard when near the coast, trusting to their being picked up by canoes and subsequently recovered, but if there were no hope of that and time pressed, they would drop the cargo overboard, chains and all. When one such dhow with two hundred and forty slaves on board was pursued by an English cruiser, the throats of all were cut separately before they were thrown away. They had cost on an average less than two dollars apiece, and freed from their weight there was some chance of saving the dhow, worth far more than its cargo.¹ On the voyage slaves were given so little food that of those who were rescued a number almost invariably died from sheer starvation. The overcrowding was frightful. Dhows would come up openly from Keelwa to Zanzibar so laden that their decks were entirely covered with slaves squatting side by side so closely packed that it was impossible for them to move. A dhow captured by the *Lyra* and boarded by Rigby with Captain Oldfield only a few hours after it had quitted

¹ Cope Devereux.

the harbour had over a hundred girls on board, all of whom had been selected for their good looks and superior education—they had been taught singing and dancing while in the dealers' hands—and evidently intended to be sold at a high price for the harems of Persia and Arabia. A fatigue-party was sent to take out the provisions, and every sailor fainted as soon as he went into the hold, so unbearable was the stench. The Surgeon of the *Lyra* ordered the immediate destruction of the vessel, and said that from the state it was in there could be little doubt that, if it had got away to sea, not a single slave could have survived a week of the voyage.¹ The passage from Zanzibar to Muscat occupied from thirty to thirty-five days, and a dhow had to put in to two or three ports for water by the way. If the northern winds set in earlier than usual, or if the dhows were becalmed, the increased sufferings of the slaves from heat, thirst and hunger were frightful. As late as 1874, about three months after the signature of the Anti-Slave Trade Treaty with Zanzibar, H.M.S. *Daphne* captured a slave dhow which had started on her northward voyage with three hundred slaves. Only fifty were still alive, and these mere skeletons.

No less appalling very often was the lot of the slave shipped in a large vessel in charge of Europeans. A ship stranded on Porto Rico in 1859 had 653 negroes on board, though the number shipped was stated variously as 1,000 and 1,200. Her name was the *Majestic*, her captain (also dead) had been an Englishman. Speke in his Journal describes the capture of a Spanish slaver in the same year. It was crowded with 544 slaves.

"A few of them were old women, but all the rest children. They had been captured during wars in their own country, and sold to Arabs, who brought them to the coast and kept them half-starved until the slaver arrived, when they were shipped in dhows and brought off to the slaver, where, for nearly a week, whilst the bargains were in progress, they were kept entirely without food. . . .

¹ For the subsequent pleasant fate of these girls, see p. 144.

All over the vessel, but more especially below, old women, stark naked, were dying in the most disgusting 'ferret-box' atmosphere; while all those who had sufficient strength were pulling up the hatches and tearing at the salt fish they found below, like dogs in a kennel."

And to give an instance from the West Coast—for there was no difference in the trade except that American ships had a longer voyage to make when they shipped their slaves from the East—A Baltimore slaver, a very fine ship, was chased by British and Portuguese warships. The captain steered her on to the rocks near Cape Lopez to avoid capture.

"The scene was truly heart-rending. As the brig struck and was overwhelmed by the breakers, the poor miserable creatures on board, probably to the number of 500, set up a howl of despair that could be heard even above the roaring of the hungry sea. But it was too dark by that time to see much, and beyond human skill or power to aid the drowning wretches, so that they soon must have met their doom, for on the next morning the beach inside of the rocks was strewn with corpses and the fragments of the wreck. . . . The monsters who manned the vessel are supposed to have escaped . . . as a boat was discovered on the beach."¹

A cargo of one thousand two hundred slaves was embarked on one vessel, and the captain, finding he had not provisions and water for that number, deliberately had four hundred thrown overboard.²

Even the town of Zanzibar itself was not free from slave raids. During the period of the piratical dealers' annual visits, extending from November to March, the place was like a city with a hostile army encamped in its neighbourhood. Every person able to do so sent his children and young slaves into the interior for security. People were afraid to stir out of their houses after dark, and reports were daily made that children and slaves had been kidnapped. In the suburbs the pirates would even enter the houses and carry off victims by force.³

When Colonel Hamerton went to Zanzibar as Consul in

¹ *New York Herald*, 1860.

² Lord Cowley in a dispatch dated Foreign Office, February 1860.

³ Brigadier Coghlan, quoting Rigby.

1841 he was surprised at the dimensions of the slave trade, for he had been led to understand it was nearly at an end. Growth seems mainly to have been due to French and Portuguese desire for the development of their colonial possessions, to increased measures of repression in respect of the trade from the West Coast to America, and to the suppression of piracy in the Indian Ocean. The Arabs, an active maritime people, had been very successful pirates not only on their own coast, but along the coasts of Africa and of India as far even as Singapore. When this form of livelihood had been checked by the ships of the English and Indian Navies, the pirates, with the shipowners and firms which engaged them, took to the traffic in slaves, and by 1859 at least twenty-five thousand a year were exported from the coasts of Africa to those of Mohammedan countries. But the Arab slave trade *per se*, as will be seen below, was but a small part of the whole, and could easily have been stopped.

When Rigby arrived at Zanzibar, every individual was interested in keeping him in ignorance as far as possible, so that it was only by slow degrees that he became aware of the vast extent of the evil, and of the guilt shared by British-Indian subjects, by Arabs, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Americans. It was indeed an Augean stable that he soon set out to clean. For some time after his arrival the trade continued rapidly to increase. Whereas, owing to the presence of one or two vessels of the Indian Navy at Aden, comparatively few slaves were at first being carried up the Red Sea, France in her ambition to develop her colonies was encouraging the trade to such an extent that slavers were escorted by French men-of-war. The French Admiral used openly to say, "We want labourers for our colonies, and we are determined to have them." For Réunion alone one hundred thousand men were required to work the sugar plantations, and so hard was the work and so horrible the cruelty to which they were subjected that the average life of a slave there did not exceed five years. To keep up the number, therefore, an annual impor-

tation of twenty thousand was required. The Spaniards carried on a very extensive slave trade to Cuba and their other colonies. They possessed many very fine clipper-built vessels conveying one thousand to one thousand two hundred slaves each. These were owned by French and Spanish firms in Marseilles and Barcelona, and were thus provided with both French and Spanish flags and papers. And England, with perhaps little less guilt, was largely shutting her eyes to an evil which did not immediately concern her.

Previous to Rigby's arrival at Zanzibar, slavery had never been interfered with there by either land or sea. He could hear of no instance of a slaver being captured off the coasts of the Zanzibar territories. It was at least definitely certain that no such capture had taken place for at least eight years—and no attempt having been made to enforce treaties and regulations, neither the Sultan nor his subjects, nor the Banian community, could understand the Consul's objection to the trade. The Indian Government, as he learned from the official correspondence of his predecessor, was averse from stirring up even the question of slavery by British subjects, and would give no authorization for steps to put a stop to so outrageous a wrong. Horrified at his discoveries, Rigby promptly set himself to discover what his powers were, and to interpret and exercise them to the full. He made no reports, and he asked for no instructions from India, until he had to a considerable extent achieved his purpose and committed his country to a new policy. What he did, he did solely on his own responsibility, risking the displeasure of his Government and the possible ruin of his career. But from the Foreign Office in England, particularly from Lord John Russell, he received noble encouragement and support. The Abolition Measure of 1833 had of course made slavery, at any rate in Rigby's eyes, illegal for British subjects, while in relation to the Zanzibar Dominions and the races of western Asia generally there were various treaties or agreements which he believed demanded observance. Viz.:—

With various Arab Chiefs of the Persian Gulf.

A Firman of the Shah forbidding the importation of negro slaves by sea, 1848.

Permission for British search of Persian ships, 1851.

A treaty with the Somalis, 1855.

A treaty with Muscat, 1839, prefaced, "His Highness, the Sultan of Muscat, being moreover desirous to record in a more formal manner the engagements entered into by His Highness on the 10th of September 1822 for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade between the dominions of His Highness and all Christian Nations . . ." and renewing engagements to that effect entered into in 1822. And allowing ships of the Indian Navy to give full force to the stipulations of the treaty. And, most important of all, a treaty with the Imam of Muscat, 1845, of which the provisions were:—

"ART. I. H.H. the Sultan of Muscat hereby engages to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions, and to issue orders to his officers to prevent and suppress such trade.

"ART. II. H.H. the Sultan of Muscat further engages to prohibit, under the severest penalties, the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into his possessions in Asia, and to use his utmost influence with all the chiefs of Arabia, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, in like manner to prevent the introduction of slaves from Africa into their respective territories.

"ART. III. H.H. the Sultan of Muscat grants to the ships of H.M. Navy, as well as those of the East India Company, permission to seize and confiscate any vessels the Property of H.H. or of his subjects carrying on slave trade, excepting such only as are engaged in the transport of slaves from one part to another of his own dominions in Africa, between the port of Lamoo to the north and its dependencies . . . and the port of Keelwa to the south.

"To have effect from Jan. 1st 1847.

"Signed at Zanzibar Oct. 2nd 1845 by

"SAEED SAEED BIN SULTAN

"Imam of Muscat

"and

"ATKINS HAMERTON, CAPTAIN.

"On behalf of H.M. the QUEEN."

Article III virtually nullified the prohibition contained in I, and it was the fatally compromising attitude (so characteristic, alas, of British procedure) expressed in it that was the root of all subsequent trouble, and a source of incalculable suffering and misery to millions of negroes.

Within a few months of landing in Africa, Rigby had acquired sufficient of the Kisowahili or coast language talked by the native population to be able to converse with slaves without an interpreter. The importance of this was plain when he discovered that even the consular servants were so implicated that he could only rely on his own efforts for accurate information. During the year and a half that Zanzibar had been without a consul, the British-Indian population, believing the reports circulated by the French that England had been severely defeated in the Mutiny and would never again send an Agent to Zanzibar, had resumed the traffic in slaves to an enormous extent. After due warning to the Banian population, on the last day of February 1859 he caused to be confined in irons in the Fort a British subject named Cassini, a shop-keeper, for having purchased a slave-boy. This was the first time anyone was ever punished at Zanzibar for trafficking in slaves. A few weeks later he discovered that a British-Indian subject had purchased a Galla slave-girl for one hundred and fifty dollars. He sent her to the Cazee or High Priest to be legally emancipated, gave her a Consular Certificate of freedom, and imprisoned her master. These flagrant cases of recent acquisition of slaves he dealt with in order to give notice to the Banians of what they must expect. Later in the year, after the Rebellion, he began to take wider, more vigorous measures. He caused all slaves owned by British subjects to be legally emancipated, and punished their owners with fines, flogging or imprisonment. Some flouted his orders, and in January 1860 one discovered in ownership of twenty slaves was made to pay each of them ten dollars compensation for illegal detention, and to receive a public flogging of four dozen lashes. In February he discovered on a plantation several newly purchased

slaves. He imprisoned the owner, and emancipated sixty-three slaves belonging to him. In connection with this case he called on the Sultan and spoke to him about British subjects buying and selling slaves, reminding him of a proclamation of his father the Imam in August 1843, which had strictly prohibited all such traffic. Some time before this, he had sent agents secretly to the plantations owned by British subjects to ascertain and record the exact number of slaves on each plantation. This compilation completed, he posted a notice at the Custom House and Consulate that:—

“Whereas British subjects residing in the Zanzibar dominions were in the habit of buying and selling Africans as slaves, and also held numbers of slaves in their possession, they would be granted one month to bring all slaves in their possession to the Consulate for the purpose of being emancipated, and that all persons failing to comply with this order would be punished according to the provisions of Act v of George IV, which Act gives power to every British Consul to inflict a fine to the amount of £100 upon any British subject holding or buying or selling African slaves for each and every one of such slaves.”

This notice caused great commotion, and excited the anger of all the foreign merchants, who feared it would interrupt their supply of cheap slave labour. Rigby discovered that the Banians were secretly instigated to oppose the emancipation, and he was threatened with assassination if he attempted to carry out the Order. During the month not a single British subject complied with the instructions to bring slaves to the Consulate. On the day, therefore, of the expiration of this term, the Consul summoned one of the wealthiest Hindoos, whom he knew to be possessed of over four hundred slaves. He presented himself at the Consulate in very scanty attire, the upper part of his very fat body entirely nude. Rigby at once summarily fined him a hundred dollars for disrespect to Her Majesty, and enforced immediate payment. He then asked him why he had neglected to comply with his proclamation to produce all his slaves for the purpose of being emancipated.

He replied that his slaves were his own property, purchased with his own money, and he denied the Consul's authority to deprive him of them. Thereupon Rigby sent for a blacksmith, and ordered him to fasten on the Banian's legs the heaviest pair of irons he could procure.

This was done, and Rigby ordered that the man should be imprisoned in the Fort until he consented to obey. The sight of one of the wealthiest and most influential Hindoo merchants being marched through the town in irons for refusing to emancipate his slaves caused very great excitement and first brought home to the minds of the people that the knell of slavery was sounding. The following day all the shops were closed, and the native merchants informed the Germans and Americans that they would stop all foreign trade until the British Consul's Order regarding slaves was rescinded. A numerous deputation came to him, but he told them plainly that he would not recede one jot from what he knew to be his duty in the matter, and that he was determined to carry out the Order until no British subject possessed a single slave. He also issued a proclamation that all stocks and whipping-posts on estates belonging to British subjects were to be destroyed at once, and that anyone found in possession of slave chains, or irons, or implements of punishment or torture, or purchasing or dealing in slave chains, would be punished with fine or imprisonment. These measures soon took effect. Each day numbers of slaves were brought to the Consulate, and Rigby's time was fully occupied from morning till night in writing out certificates of emancipation and in making a register of the ex-slaves, containing their names, age, tribe and any particulars of their history and capture he was able to procure. After some time the Hindoo he had imprisoned sent a message that he had repented of his disobedience and was willing to emancipate all his slaves. Rigby therefore summoned them to attend and gave to each a certificate of freedom, and also directed the late owner to pay twenty dollars to each as compensation for having illegally held them in

slavery. After refusing for several days, and suffering further imprisonment in consequence, the Hindoo at length consented to pay. The facts of this case gave a severe shock to members of the British-Indian community. Though his methods were drastic, Rigby was not without sympathy for them, for until now no one had ever attempted to interfere with them, and the Indian Government had steadily discouraged any inclination to do so shown by Colonel Hamerton.

Many slave-children were secreted or not produced by the owners, who did not know that lists had been made of all the slaves on the plantations. The children were kept quiet by telling them that their names were written down at the Consulate should they go there in order that English sailors might devour them on the arrival of a ship. Rigby therefore ordered that every boy brought to the Consulate should be given a new red fez cap and a white jacket, and every girl a complete new dress, and that each child should receive also three pounds of native sweetmeats. After this, the children saw to it that they were brought up with the other slaves. As most of the slaves of Kanoo, the rich Hindoo, were young children, difficult to provide for, Rigby made over to them for twelve years a good plantation of their former owner's, and placed men in charge of it to teach the children to cultivate it and so earn their own living. At one time so many slaves were brought to him that he was occupied in emancipating them at the rate of three hundred a day. He recorded in his diary, for example:—

"March 7th. Busy all day emancipating slaves.

"March 8th. Up to this date I have emancipated 2,700 slaves, and given to each a certificate of freedom.

"March 28th. Kanoo's slave whom he had sold to an Arab came to me. I redeemed him and presented him with 50 dollars."

Sporadic cases of British slave-holding continued from time to time. Thus at the end of July a man was found in possession of thirty-eight and made to give them twelve dollars each as compensation. In September 1860 Rigby emancipated also

the slaves belonging to British subjects on the Island of Pemba.

In all he signed the emancipation papers of eight thousand slaves. These papers were given, according to the law of the land, by the Caze. And he was not contented with merely signing papers, but took care to provide for the future of the poor creatures whose last condition, but for judicious "after-care," might have been worse than their first. Grant wrote in *A Walk Across Africa*:—"The price of slaves was low in 1860—only three dollars each, and many Arabs would have taken less, as Colonel Rigby has released upwards of four thousand, who became independent, living in a newly made part of the town, and gaining a livelihood by fetching water and selling the produce of the island." This however did not by any means apply to all. To slaves who were employed with their wives and children on plantations and wished to remain on the estates of their former masters, Rigby allotted a sufficient portion of their masters' land to support them, in return for which they agreed to work for the owners four days a week. This left them the other three to cultivate their own portion. The slaves never cost the Government a penny, and in general they found work for themselves. There was always a great demand for labour, not only on plantations, but in the service of American, German and French commercial houses. Many found employment in the cowrie trade, others in sifting and washing gum-copal, or husking cocoanuts. Some went back to European employers who had previously hired them from owners, but now of course they kept the pay for themselves. Numbers of unmarried slaves became seamen, and years after Rigby met many of them in the ports of Kutch and Kattiawar still wearing the certificates of emancipation he had signed and sealed for them, enclosed in little silver cases as charms hung round their necks or as amulets on their arms. From Naval officers he heard of others met in the ports of Mozambique and Madagascar. Some of the large contingents of slaves captured in dhows he sent to the Seychelles, and when he revisited these Islands in 1861 he found all thriving and in good condi-

tion. Among them there he saw the party of a hundred girls described above, nicely dressed, some on their way to church, and all looking as happy as possible. Emancipated negroes in the Seychelles were well treated, enjoyed a climate which suited them, and lived on the food to which they were accustomed, namely cassava or manioc.

That there might be no re-enslavement, the Consul used to send his guards about the Island of Zanzibar to find out if any of the emancipated slaves had been kidnapped, but no complaint to that effect ever reached him. When the northern Arabs came to the town and were prowling about the streets, the liberated men on their own initiative formed among themselves a vigilance committee, members of which used to patrol the town all night. These men would often wake the Consul up in the night, if the Arabs were attempting to carry off their children. Thus we find an entry in the diary:—"April 3rd. During the night I released a girl stolen and sold to an Arab, and also eleven other slaves found in his house." Churchill (Consul 1867), in giving evidence before the Select Committee in 1871, stated that he had never heard of any of the slaves Rigby had liberated becoming slaves again.

With the sole exception of Sultan Majid himself, the Arabs to a man were involved in the traffic. The Sultan's next brother, Abdool Wahab,¹ his nephew, Saiyid Saood, his cousin, the nominal governor of the town, Saiyid Suleiman,¹ the chief Caze, the chiefs of the tribes, were all known to be engaged in supplying slaves to French and Spanish vessels. All the Sultan's chief advisers, and all the members of his household, his police and his army were implicated. A Turkish Jemadar placed in charge of a body of soldiers to patrol the streets at night was subsequently discovered to have sold sixty-two children to the northern Arabs. The provisions of the Treaty were absolutely a dead letter. How should they not be since

¹ These two men, e.g., each sold three hundred slaves to a French ship in 1858, as was stated by the French Consul in a dispatch to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

the Anglo-Indian Government had taken no steps whatever to enforce them? As for the Sultan, educated as he had been, how could he view slavery other than as a time-honoured institution, permitted, if not actually approved, by the precepts of his religion? Yet, partly no doubt from political motives, and partly—let us give him his due—because Rigby was able for a time to make some impression on a naturally kind heart, he was in the earlier months by no means indisposed to co-operate in suppressing the trade to the extent contemplated by the Treaty. The Consul never had cause to complain in those early months of any holding back on Majid's part when called upon to interfere in isolated cases of infraction brought to his notice. But with a population wholly devoted to the trade, he governed only by sufferance, and without support from outside was absolutely powerless to carry out the provisions of the Treaty. If his officials connived at the exportation of slaves to foreign lands, there were no others with whom he could supersede them without certainty that they would pursue the same course. Only a strong man could have prevailed in such circumstances, and Majid, as the Rebellion proved, was a weak one. As time went on, weakened in body by gross sensual indulgence, he became still weaker in will-power, and seems to have lost completely a certain magnanimity of which he showed promise during the first year of his intercourse with Rigby. So open was the breach of the Treaty that vessels belonging to Somalis and northern Arabs were in the habit of lying at anchor and embarking slaves just beneath the windows of the Palace, and until at the Consul's instigation British cruisers were from time to time in the harbour, there was absolutely no check whatever on the evil.

Among cases which came to his notice were those of a vessel which remained at anchor three days after embarking one hundred and sixty slaves, and of two Somali ships which embarked respectively one hundred and fifty and one hundred and forty-one slaves. In the case of the last of these his intervention was able to procure from the Sultan certificates of

emancipation. One of the Arab vessels captured by H.M.S. *Sidon* in 1860 had shipped sixty-seven slaves in the harbour of Mombasa. Rigby asked the commander how he managed this, and he replied that he had not attempted any concealment, and that whilst he was there five other vessels had embarked slaves for the north. The Governor of the place had told them they were doing no wrong, as the shipment of slaves was not forbidden by the Sultan. At Keelwa and Lamoo also the slaves were embarked quite openly. From Keelwa alone eighteen large dhows filled with slaves sailed for Arabia and the Persian Gulf during the spring of 1861. Whilst out in his boat in March, Rigby observed almost every morning dhows from the north sailing, or about to sail, full of slaves. On his representations to the Sultan, many of them were re-landed, and one day when Majid visited the Consulate accompanied by all the principal chiefs Rigby introduced the subject and urged him to take more vigorous measures to stop the illegal traffic. He told him that he had never seen a boat from any of his ships visiting these dhows previous to their quitting the harbour, and suggested that he should direct guard-boats to row round by turns day and night. Upon this His Highness called the commander of his newest corvette, and gave him strict orders to do this in turn with boats from his other ships. A few days after, the commander, who had been educated in England, called on the Consul, and stated that on pulling alongside a dhow full of slaves that morning, the Arabs on board had pelted him with billets of wood. He then returned to the shore, and obtained thirty Belooch soldiers, but on his return with them the crew of the dhow fired on his boat, and in the confusion which ensued it was upset, and all on board had to swim to shore. He had had enough of visiting slave dhows, and had no intention of repeating the adventure.

Rigby never lost confidence in the ultimate suppression of the slave trade, but he felt keenly that all delay involved the torture and agony of thousands of fellow-creatures with all the attendant evils, and was correspondingly depressed. It

must have been with relief and satisfaction that he received the following dispatch, which showed that his Government had resigned itself with a good grace to the situation he had created:—

“SIR,

“I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 14th September last, No. 51, reporting the further progress made by you in the emancipation of slaves in the possession of British subjects residing at Zanzibar.

“In reply I am desired to intimate to you that your proceedings are fully approved, and that your humane exertions for the suppression of the Slave Trade entitle you to the warm commendation of Government.

“I have the honor to be, Sir

“Your most obedient servant,

“(signed) H. L. ANDERSON,

“Chief Secretary

“BOMBAY CASTLE.

“30th November, 1860.”

CHAPTER IX

ZANZIBAR. THE SLAVE TRADE. PORTUGAL

WHEN Rigby went to Zanzibar, the Portuguese held only the land between Cape Delgado and the English colonies to the south, retaining this solely, it appeared, for the sake of the slave trade. This was carried on in direct violation of treaties, and was contrary to the laws of Portugal. Its causes, Rigby diagnosed, were the dishonesty of the officials and the demoralized state of the half-caste inhabitants, who set the law and the orders of their Sovereign at defiance. Their excuse was that their home Government afforded no pecuniary support to its East African possessions, all the employees, including the Governor-General, being dependent for their salaries on the Colonial Secretary and a Treasury under the control of a Council. The blighting rule of the Portuguese in such circumstances had almost entirely destroyed all legitimate trade on this part of the coast, and the whole business of the white population was man-stealing and man-selling. At the five chief ports this was the only trade, and without an entire change of system in the mode of government there was no hope of any attempt to check the traffic in which all alike were involved, with the sole exception of the Governor-General of the Mozambique, whose position in its helplessness was analogous to that of Sultan Majid.¹ Both were surrounded by such unprincipled rogues that however they might themselves desire to suppress the slave trade, they could not depend upon a single individual to carry out their orders. The only hope of suppression rested with the British Navy, but the ships employed at this time were practically useless, being too slow to overtake the swift, clipper-built vessels in which the slaves were shipped. Rigby strongly and repeatedly expressed

¹ Livingstone, however, doubted his integrity. See below.

his opinion that a few fast screw gunboats of light draught under active officers could very soon render the trade so unprofitable as to stop it altogether. Further impunity was due to the fact that as heavy sums had been paid in indemnification for the illegal capture of Portuguese vessels by British cruisers, our commanders were shy of interference. "The Portuguese flag covers a multitude of slaves" wrote the author of *The Cruise of the "Gorgon."* He was told that a Portuguese slave company kept a small man-of-war schooner as a blind to lead British ships off the scent, and that it carried the money for the purchase of the slaves.

In July 1859 Rear-Admiral Grey wrote to the Admiralty on the subject, and enclosed a dispatch from Rigby reporting the nature of the traffic which was being carried on with Eboo as its headquarters, and in September Rigby sent both to Bombay and to the Foreign Office dispatches to the effect that an extensive slave trade was going on with the full knowledge and connivance of the Portuguese authorities. In one case he quoted, a large vessel had approached the Portuguese port of Eboo, and mistaking a vessel at anchor there for a British cruiser had hoisted American colours and stood out to sea. But on learning its mistake, it had returned under Spanish colours and shipped slaves for Cuba. It carried a large crew and was armed with guns. The usual practice was for the slavers to remain only a few hours in the port, and, having made all arrangements with agents beforehand, to pick up the cargo and provisions at some quiet spot on the coast, usually at a small bay a few miles to the south, of which the entrance was so narrow that ships inside could not be seen from the sea. From this spot another vessel shipped one thousand two hundred slaves in August with the aid of all the boats of Eboo, and for each of these the Governor of the town received a fee of ten dollars, part of which he distributed among the officials of the port. Rigby concluded his dispatch by saying that he believed the Governor-General to be entirely ignorant of the trade carried on at Eboo, since he

had been very zealous in putting a stop to the export of slaves from the port of Mozambique.

In November he reported in a further dispatch that a brig had arrived at Zanzibar under Spanish colours, nameless, with disguised rigging and eight guns, not at the ports, but carried inboard for concealment. She was not consigned to any Zanzibar house, had no cargo on board, and was evidently equipped as a slaver. He ascertained that she had come from Eboo, and that the export of negroes under the Spanish flag had been carried on there so extensively during the last few months that the supply was exhausted, even most of the domestic slaves of the inhabitants having been shipped.

In January 1860 Admiral Grey again quoted the authority of the Consul in earnest representations to the Admiralty, and later in the same year Brigadier Coghlan in a long Report from Aden quoted freely from his dispatches and corroborated his statements as to the shameless manner in which the Portuguese authorities were aiding and abetting the nefarious traffic. He added that large tracts of fertile country were becoming depopulated and the remains of the tribes being driven to a state of desperation threatening ruin to their degenerate masters. The fact that a neighbouring Christian people was known to be extensively engaged in the trade formed a precedent and a strong ground of apology to the Mahommedans. "Hints as to our consistency—doubts as to the disinterestedness of our motive—whilst our co-religionists are allowed to pursue the same course with comparative impunity—are frequently dropped by Mussulmans of those parts in all discussions regarding the abolition of the slave trade. . . . Independently of the energetic exertions of Colonel Rigby to arrest it, there are absolutely no restrictions whatever on the infamous traffic."

In 1854 the Government had determined to appoint a Consul at Mozambique, and two years later Mr L. McCleod took office. He achieved much, and it was mainly due to his influence with the Governor that the French slaver *Charles et Georges* was

seized by the Portuguese.¹ But after less than two years he had been forced to leave in consequence of the inability of the Portuguese authorities to afford him protection against the slave traders. In a book published by him in 1860² he gives a terrible account of the cruelty practised by the Portuguese on their domestic slaves, instancing deliberate starvation to keep them in subjection.

"They display a refinement in cruelty which I am not aware exists in any other slave-holding communities. . . . The son is made to flog his mother and his sister, the father flogs his daughters and also the woman who bore them for him—all at the command of their owner, who can do with them what he pleases. Women are made to flog—and that under circumstances too revolting to be told."

And the lot of the plantation slave was no better.³ According to the Rev. Horace Waller, the Portuguese masters were for the most part convicts, many of them murderers, one of his own acquaintance detailing to him three murders for which he had been sent there. These men were, many of them, isolated planters with three or four hundred slaves whom they had bought for a mere nothing. They were nearly all in a state of terror lest there should be a rising among their slaves, and the remedy adopted was to terrify them by making the most dreadful example of some of them guilty of anything like insubordination. It was no uncommon thing for a master to cut a slave's nose off or to castrate a man. Women, said Waller, were put to death in a more revolting way than he could detail.⁴

Livingstone wrote:—

"We had long become thoroughly convinced that the Government of Lisbon had been guilty, possibly unintentionally, of double-

¹ See Appendix iv.

² *Travels in Eastern Africa*.

³ The peoples of the Peninsula seem always to have excelled in cruelty to slaves. In Spain during the early centuries of our era Canon v of the Church dealt with "Christian (!) mistresses who whip their handmaids to death." See Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*.

⁴ Evidence before the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves. Report, 1876.

dealing. Public instructions . . . had been sent from Portugal to all the officials to render us every assistance in their power, but these were to be understood with considerable reservation. From what we observed it was clear that, with the public orders to the officials to aid us, private instructions had come to thwart us. It is possible that these private instructions meant only that we were to be watched; but where nearly everyone, from Governor to convict-soldier, is an eager slave dealer, such orders could only mean, 'Keep a sharp look-out that your slave trade follows as near their heels as possible.' We were now so fully convinced that, in opening the country through which no Portuguese durst previously pass, we were made the unwilling instruments of extending the slave trade, that, had we not been under obligations to return with the Makololo to their own country, we should have left the Zambesi and gone to the Rovuma, or to some other inlet to the interior. It was with bitter sorrow we saw the good we would have done turned to evil.

"We afterwards learned that no sooner was it proposed that we should go to the Rovuma than the Governor-General d'Almeida hastened up to Zanzibar and tried to induce the Sultan to agree to that river being made the boundary between him and the Portuguese. This movement, the effect of instructions drawn up after information had been obtained from our letters being read at the meetings of the Geographical Society, London, was happily frustrated by Colonel Rigby; and the Governor-General had to be content with Cape Delgado as the extreme limit of Portuguese claims northward."¹

As a result mainly of the efforts made by Rigby, Coghlan and Grey, in June 1860 Lord Stratheden moved a resolution in the House of Lords in favour of establishing a British Consul at Mozambique, the office having remained vacant since the withdrawal of McCleod owing to controversies between the Governments of France, Portugal and Great Britain. He quoted Rigby as having stated that since there had been no Consul the slave trade had acquired a vivacity and magnitude unknown in former times. There was considerable opposition to the motion, but Lord Stratheden pressed a division, and after a very long debate carried the day.²

¹ *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1865.

² See further chapter x, pp. 176, 177.

In August of the same year Rigby reported that the trade was very much on the increase, and carried on in the most shameless manner at the Portuguese ports.

It must have been satisfactory to him to receive the following from Lord John Russell:—

“FOREIGN OFFICE

“February 19th, 1861

“SIR,

“The Secretary of State for India has transmitted to me a Report, drawn up by Brigadier Coghlan, comprising the result of inquiries recently made by that officer on the subject of the Slave Trade on the Eastern Coast of Africa.

“A considerable portion of this Report is founded on information received by Brigadier Coghlan from you, and which you have already furnished to Her Majesty’s Government, but it contains also some new matter, and tends to show that the Slave Trade is carried on almost as actively on the Eastern as on the Western Coast of Africa.

“Brigadier Coghlan estimates the number of slaves exported from the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar and from the neighbouring Portuguese territories at upwards of 30,000 annually, and he states that whole districts have been depopulated, and towns and villages destroyed in the wars that have been carried on for the purpose of procuring slaves for exportation.

“These facts, even if allowance be made for some exaggeration, show that more stringent measures than have hitherto been adopted are required for the suppression of this iniquitous traffic.

“I have instructed Her Majesty’s Minister at Lisbon to make a strong representation to the Portuguese Government with the view to procure the removal and punishment of the officers who have connived at the trade in slaves which is carried on from the Portuguese territories, and I have to desire that you will express to the Sultan of Zanzibar the regret of Her Majesty’s Government that the stipulations of the Treaty between Great Britain and Zanzibar by which His Highness is bound to prevent the exportation of slaves from his dominions have not been more faithfully observed.”

Numerous protests were addressed by Earl Russell to the Portuguese Government, which, however, persistently repudiated the suggestion of any connivance on the part of its officials. A copy of Rigby’s dispatch concerning B. V. Mass

(see Chapter x) was forwarded to our Minister at Lisbon, who made known its contents to the Portuguese Minister concerned, with a request that Mass should not be allowed to take up his residence in Portuguese territory. Orders to this effect were transmitted to the Governors-General of Mozambique, Angola and Loanda.

CHAPTER X

ZANZIBAR. THE SLAVE TRADE. FRANCE

GREAT as were his other difficulties, no more disagreeable or constant anxiety fell to Rigby's lot than was occasioned throughout his residence at Zanzibar by the French, who, instead of co-operating with him in his efforts to suppress the Slave Trade, were the worst offenders, often in open defiance of the instructions of their Emperor and Government. Further, they endangered the prosperity and stability of the State, as we have already seen, by their political machinations, which might, indeed must, have given a completely different trend to the history of East Africa had a weak man occupied our Consulate during these most critical years.

Before his arrival (July 27, 1858), Rigby's predecessor, Colonel Hamerton, who with heroic but mistaken tenacity had stuck to his post far longer than was right in such a climate under conditions then obtaining, seems for long to have been growing less and less effective as a result of disheartenment and illness which at last proved fatal, and there had been no British Agent since his death more than a year previously. It was the period of the Indian Mutiny, and the French had persuaded the Sultan and all the inhabitants that the British had lost India and that no British representative would ever again be sent. Hamerton had already in 1854¹ been much disquieted by the pressure the French were bringing to bear on the Imam with a view to securing large numbers of slaves to be landed in their colonies under the euphemistic title of *libres engagés*.² An agent from Bourbon told

¹ See Appendix iv.

² The Bishop of Bradford writing (1871) of the iniquity of the *libres engagés* system, described how an Arab chief, on being told that this was not slavery but free labour, replied, "All same ting to me. Old time you call it slavery, now you call it free labour; I go catch men, sell; you give the money; all right!"

him that labourers were required at once, and ten thousand a year to keep up the supply. The Imam very properly regarded this as wrong in itself and at variance with the spirit of the Treaty concluded by him with Great Britain in 1822. The French threatened to defy his authority within his own dominions and get what they wanted by force, if necessary. It was clear that they were seeking a cause of quarrel in order to seize some of the East Coast ports. Much alarmed, the Imam asked for advice and support from the Foreign Office in London. On representations to the French Government through our Ambassador, Lord Cowley, a satisfactory reply was received (October 1855) to the effect that severe instructions had already been sent to the Colonial Governors to stop any trade, direct or indirect, in negroes. The matter seemed at an end.

Less than a month after his arrival, Rigby penned the following dispatch:—¹

“From Captain Rigby, Honourable Company’s Agent, Zanzibar, to H. L. Anderson Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

“ZANZIBAR

“15th August, 1858

“SIR,

“I have the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the following circumstances relative to the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa.

“2. In consequence of some recent orders of the French Government, permitting the importation of negroes into the Island of Bourbon, the slave trade all along the East Coast of Africa is being carried on to a far greater extent than has hitherto been known. Vessels are being sent out from France on purpose to be employed in conveying negroes from this coast. I am informed by the merchants here that one person in Marseilles has contracted to land 25,000 negroes in the Island of Bourbon within the next two years.² These negroes are purchased by native agents all along the Mozambique coast, and taken on board French ships; they then go through

¹ Several of these dispatches, including this, were printed by order of the House of Commons. See Appendix IV for others.

² This was probably the head of the firm of Régis, which had also contracted to supply twenty thousand negroes to Martinique and Guadeloupe. (*The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, July 1, 1859.)

the form of asking them if they are willing to engage themselves to serve for ten years; the slaves, not understanding a word that is spoken, are previously ordered by their masters to nod their heads when spoken to, and this is considered sufficient assent. They are then registered and numbered, and forwarded in ship-loads to Bourbon.

"3. There is at present a large French ship of this description at anchor in this harbour; she is full of negroes, who wear a number on a piece of wood round their necks. I have been privately informed that she had been shipping negroes at night here by stealth; she is anchored outside all the other vessels in the harbour, and is said to be waiting the arrival of a French man-of-war, daily expected.

"4. The sudden development of this trade on a scale of such magnitude has caused a great sensation amongst the inhabitants of this place, and His Highness the Sultan, Saiyid Majid, is about to dispatch his frigate *Artemis* to cruise off the island of Monfia and the southern part of his dominions on the coast of Africa to prevent slaves being shipped from those places.

"5. I understand that his Excellency the Governor-General of the Mozambique has taken very decided steps to put a stop to this traffic within the limits of the Portuguese settlements. A French ship¹ recently captured has been condemned by the Portuguese courts at Mozambique, and the commander sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

"6. In addition to the traffic carried on by the French, I am informed that a vessel under Spanish colours shipped 500 slaves from the vicinity of Lamoo on the African coast to the north of Pemba, for conveyance to Cuba; and another large American ship, also under Spanish colours, shipped 1,200 slaves for conveyance to Cuba from the ports of Mozambique.

"I have, etc.,

"C. P. RIGBY,

"Captain"

Only five days later, he had to write a further dispatch reporting the arrival of two French warships, *L'Eglée* and *Génie*. The commander of the latter had immediately requested an audience of the Sultan, who forthwith sent his private secretary to inform Rigby of the request and tell him that the same vessel had arrived some months earlier, and that the commander

¹ The *Charles et Georges*.

had then urged His Highness to permit the export of negroes from his territories for conveyance to the Island of La Réunion as *engagés*. The Sultan had emphatically refused. He now feared that the present visit meant a renewal of the demand, and wished for the Consul's advice as to the nature of his reply should this be the case. Rigby told the secretary that as there were no free labourers, and no class of persons who of their own free will would engage themselves to embark for a French colony, any compliance on the Sultan's part would certainly lead to a slave trade on an extensive scale, and he therefore advised His Highness to inform the commander that his treaty engagements with the British Government forbade his sanctioning any direct or indirect sale of slaves within his dominions to Europeans of any nation.

After the commander's visit to the Sultan, the secretary returned to say that he had as expected urged the advantages His Highness would derive from compliance with his wishes, and had presented a letter from the Governor of La Réunion urging him to the same effect. The letter and a rough copy in Arabic of the answer the Sultan proposed to send were brought for Rigby's perusal. He asked to be supplied with copies of both letters and forwarded them with his dispatch, along with copies of the correspondence on the same subject which had passed between Colonel Hamerton and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. From this it appeared that the French had only desisted from their attempts to force their slave trade on the late Imam as a result of repeated remonstrances from the British Government. The pertinacity with which the demands were now repeated and the appearance of ships of war as if to lend weight to them were now, Rigby reported, alarming the Sultan and his subjects as to what their ultimate designs might be. Majid he believed to be sincerely desirous of acting up to his engagements with the British Government.¹

¹ Of course even if the trade in human flesh were quite legitimate and unobjectionable, it would still be preposterous that a foreign country should

The letter from the Governor of La Réunion to the Sultan deserves to be given in full:—

“Ile de La Réunion. Cabinet du Gouverneur.

“SAINT DENIS

“*le 29 juin, 1858*

“A Sa Hautesse le très puissant Sultan de Zanzibar.

“HAUTESSE,

“Sa Majesté l’Empereur des Français est un prince juste, et ne saurait rien demander qui ne soit suivant les lois de la morale et de l’équité; c’est dans ces sentiments que je vous adresse ces lignes.

“Il vous demande d’autoriser les travailleurs engagés pour La Réunion à sortir librement de vos états.

“Les terres de la Réunion sont riches et fécondes, mais la chaleur du soleil interdit aux hommes blancs d’y travailler. C’est pour cela que nous nous adressons aux hommes noirs que Dieu a fait pour ces climats.

“Le sol de La Réunion, comme tout sol Français, est un sol de liberté; tout travailleur qui le touche devient libre. Si on lui demande son travail, c’est à la condition de le nourrir, de le vêtir, de le loger, de le soigner s’il est malade, et enfin de le payer. Est-il permis de dire que l’homme que l’on met dans de pareilles conditions est esclave, et ceux qui tient un pareil langage ne sont-ils pas calomnieux de la pensée de notre grand Empereur, et ne tiennent-ils pas un langage mensonger?

“Ce n’est que pour un temps très court et pour peu d’années que nous demandons le travail aux hommes qui nous viendront de vos états; ils seront autorisés en suite à rentrer dans votre territoire; ils auront appris la culture du sucre; ils auront connu nos coutumes; ils vous apporteront donc une population de gens propres à travailler vos terres et à augmenter la source des richesses de vos états.

“Ces conditions ne sont-elles pas justes? Ne sont-elles pas dignes des bienfaits que veut répandre sur tout le globe une grande nation? Ce n’est pas tout. Hautesse! Sa Majesté l’Empereur des Français

attempt to drain the wealth of the country, present and future, as was attempted, and so largely with success. Had a diamond- or coal-field been in question, this aspect of the question would have been more readily recognized.

comprend que si vous vous privez pour un certain temps d'un certain nombre de vos sujets, cette privation demande une compensation. C'est pour recevoir nos offres et nos conditions que je vous envoie le Commandant du brick le *Génie* que vous connaissez. Il est chargé de vous dire que vos bons procédés et votre bon vouloir pour la France seront payés par l'amitié et la protection de l'Empereur. Ces assurances vous avez déjà dû les recevoir de la part de notre Consul accrédité près de vous.

"Quant aux conditions de détail (je ne les traite point dans cette lettre, qui n'a pour but que de vous faire connaître les bonnes et loyales intentions dont notre Gouvernement est animés) elles vous seront transmises par Monsieur le Commandant Méquet et par notre Consul. Je prie votre Hautesse de recevoir l'expression des sentiments que font naître en moi l'idée de sa grandeur et de son pouvoir.

"Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur Le Gouverneur de l'Ile de La Réunion, Commandant la Station de Réunion et Madagascar, Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur, Commandeur du très sublime Ordre du Medjidié, Compagnon de l'Ordre du Bain d'Angleterre, etc., etc., etc.

"(signed) BARON DARRICAN"¹

In September the Consul described in a dispatch how some eighteen hours after a French merchant ship had left the island of Comoro with four hundred *engagés* on board, these had risen and attacked the crew with billets of firewood, beating some of them severely, but taking no lives, and allowing them to escape in the boats. The slaves ran the ship aground, and escaped into the country.²

The demand for slaves created by the French all along the coast to the south had by this time resulted in the price being nearly doubled, and in slaves being marched long distances in the interior to supply the new market south of Monfia instead of being brought the shorter distance to Zanzibar. Rigby expressed to Government his conviction that, if this were allowed to continue, all legitimate trade on the East Coast would be ruined, as the tribes would find slave-hunting so

¹ For translation, see Appendix v(a).

² See chapter v, p. 73.

profitable that they would neglect all else. He had no doubt that already the news would have travelled far over the interior that the white man was now the best customer of the slave dealer, and prepared to pay a good price in ready money, so that people who had hitherto brought ivory, gums, hides, etc., to the coast for sale would now be engaged in hunting and kidnapping their neighbours.

As an example of what the French wished him to comply with, Majid sent Rigby a letter in Arabic received the previous April from a Monsieur Runton, who had for some time been Agent for the late Imam at La Réunion. He said that when the Imam died he had been about to write and advise him to be supreme in his own territories and give permission for the shipment of slaves, even if the English Consul should oppose it. Now he wished to know whether he might send a ship to fetch young strong slaves. A profit would be certain, and he had the effrontery to say that profit or losses would be divided equally between himself and His Highness. For every ninety male slaves he wished to have ten females aged from fourteen to sixteen years. The Governor, he was certain, would be pleased to permit the slaves to land. He concluded,

“And do not pay attention to the words of the English Consul in all what he says to you; do all that you see is good for your country and condition; for the English Consul is dwelling in your country solely for his own affairs; he has by no means anything to do with your affairs; for the English would wish to manufacture sugar in their colonies, in Europe and in India, and sell it to foreign countries, and would desire that other countries should not manufacture any sugar. And the French Government has given permission to all the Governors of their colonies to purchase slaves and to set them free; for the Government of France desires the happiness of all mankind, so that people should convey slaves to Bourbon to be taught labour, in order that they become wise and clever.”¹

Meanwhile things had apparently been moving in Europe. A dispatch addressed by Prince Napoleon, Minister of Algeria

¹ See Appendix IV for the whole letter.

162 GENERAL RIGBY, ZANZIBAR, AND THE SLAVE TRADE
and the Colonies, to the Governor of the Island of Réunion,
dated Paris, January 6, 1859, ran:—

“MONSIEUR LE GOUVERNEUR,

“On the reception of the present dispatch you will adopt the most stringent measures to forbid any engagement of labourers either on the Eastern Coast of Africa, or at Madagascar, or at the Camores, as well as the importation into the Réunion of immigrants from these places, or from Sainte Marie, Mayotte and Nossi Ba. I write in similar terms to Lieutenant-Colonel Morel. You will, when acknowledging the receipt of the present communication, let me know the number, the particulars, the date of the permission for operations of engagements of that nature which might with the assent of your Government be in course of execution at the time this dispatch will reach you, and which on those grounds alone may be suffered until their accomplishment to be unaffected by my decision. You will give me an account of the measures you will have adopted to assure the strict execution of my directions in this respect.

“NAPOLEON (Jerome)

“P.S. I recommend to you the strict and prompt execution of this order.”

The Queen's speech on the opening of Parliament, February 3, 1859, contained this passage:—

“I have great satisfaction in announcing to you that the Emperor of the French has abolished a System of Negro Emigration from the East Coast of Africa, against which, as unavoidably tending, however guarded, to the encouragement of the Slave Trade, My Government has never ceased to address to His Imperial Majesty its most earnest but friendly representations.

“This wise act on the part of His Imperial Majesty induces Me to hope that Negotiations now in progress at Paris may tend to the total Abandonment of the System, and to the Substitution of a duly regulated Supply of substantially Free Labour.”

On this Lord Palmerston commented:—

“I am most delighted to learn . . . that that system of slave trade into which, under the name of free immigration the French Government had incautiously been led, has been at last stopped from the East Coast of Africa. . . . It was the slave trade in its worst form.

You may call it free immigration if you please, but men bought and sold are no more free when taken on board a vessel of the French house of M. Régis & Co. than they would be if exported in a Spanish or Portuguese slaver. The traffic was characterized by all the abomination of the old slave trade, and when those unhappy victims were landed in a French colony, their condition, though it was denominated free, was, in truth, anything but free; for although slavery has been abolished in the French possessions, and the condition of those unfortunate persons is not so bad as it would have been in Cuba, still they are not free agents, and are practically slaves. But the French Government were led into a mistake on this subject; they were deceived by interested men, and led to suppose, what is not the case, that the transaction in question was free from the taint of the slave trade. Their eyes, however, have been opened by the flagitious and iniquitous circumstances connected with the conduct of the *Charles et Georges*, and I shall be glad if those circumstances have convinced the French Government of the iniquity of the enterprise in which that vessel was engaged. The French Government must remember that in 1815 it made, in conjunction with the other Powers of Europe, the most solemn protest against the slave trade. They declared that the slave trade had been considered by just and enlightened men in all ages repugnant to the principles of humanity, and that they would endeavour to put an end to a practice which had for many years been a scourge which had desolated Africa, degraded Europe and afflicted humanity. If the Government of a country which was a party to that noble declaration in 1815 should now, more than forty years afterwards, and after having abolished its slave trade and emancipated its slaves, fall back into all the criminalities then denounced, it would be the most afflicting spectacle of human degradation that the eyes of man ever witnessed. . . .”

During the spring and summer of 1859 Lord John Russell, through our Minister in Paris, Earl Cowley, repeatedly brought to the notice of the French Government the information received from Rigby respecting the activity of the ships trading in slaves under the French flag, e.g. the arrival at Zanzibar in December of the *Alexandre* with three hundred slaves of both sexes on board, the majority, as he ascertained from personal observation, being children of from five to twelve years. The Customs Master had informed him that upwards of thirty thousand English sovereigns had been remitted to

Zanzibar during the last few months from the small ports to the south—money which could only have been received in payment for slaves. Estimating the price paid at twenty dollars per head,¹ this would show that nearly eight thousand slaves had been purchased that season from that part of the coast alone. Another instance was the arrival in March at a small port in the Zanzibar Dominions of three French ships, two of them slavers and a third a brig of war.

“The inhabitants remonstrated with the French, and informed them that the sale of slaves to any foreigners was strictly forbidden by the Sultan. The commanders of the slavers pointed to the brig of war, saying that they were authorized by the French Government to purchase slaves, and that this ship had come there to protect them while procuring negroes, and to prevent any interference with them.”

This affair, Rigby reported, had caused considerable excitement among the inhabitants of Zanzibar, and had made a most painful impression on the Sultan. And further the proceedings of French slavers on the coast of Madagascar were creating a deadly feeling of hatred against all white men and were causing a stoppage of all other trade. The American Consul made similar representations to his Government.

Earl Russell sent a very strong note² to Paris pointing out that the conduct of agents of the French Government was completely at variance with the orders of the Emperor.

Rear-Admiral Grey wrote to the Admiralty about the unprecedented extent to which the export of negroes to Bourbon had been carried on, and enclosed a copy of a dispatch to him from Commander Oldfield of the *Lyra*, dated Natal July 8, 1859, reporting that owing to the absence of a British cruiser at least two thousand slaves had been shipped by the French since October.

In his dispatch of November 19, 1859, to Lord John Russell (see previous chapter, p. 150) Rigby continued the account

¹ But for full-grown slaves the price when the French were buying was often thirty to forty dollars. They outbid the Arabs, who could not afford to pay so much.

² Foreign Office, July 9, 1859.

of the suspicious brig under Spanish colours which had arrived from Eboo. The Sultan had sent one of the captains of his Navy to inspect her papers. Her commander referred him to the French Consul, and he in turn refused to produce them on the ground that the brig was under French protection. Next day a notorious slave agent, Buona Ventura Mass, a Spaniard by birth, but claiming French nationality, informed the Sultan of his intention to proceed to Lamoo, a port in his dominions, on board this vessel. The Sultan replied that she could not be permitted to trade at any of his ports unless she produced satisfactory papers. Nevertheless the brig sailed for Lamoo with Mass on board—a man who two years before had shipped five hundred slaves from Lamoo to Havana, who in February of this year had shipped six hundred in the French ship *Pallas*, and had further sent an Arab dealer, Salim Jubran by name, to Keelwa with 9,000 German Crowns for the purchase of slaves. Jubran bought for him 525 at Keelwa, but the ship was disabled, so Mass had them taken overland to Lamoo, whence only 199 survivors were shipped. A letter from Saad Jubran at Zanzibar to his brother Salim at Keelwa, which with others of the same tenor fell into Rigby's hands, ran:—

“Oh Salim, M. Mass says to you, that he will send you money by the hand of Amber Boo Bukr; he will mention the amount when he sends it; and M. Mass says to you ‘purchase 600 slaves quickly, quickly’; the ship will soon arrive; of every hundred slaves let ten slaves be females, and of the 600 slaves 60 must be females, for the Government at Bourbon insist that ten slaves of every hundred shall be females, or they will not accept them. . . .”

The Sultan had often expressed to Rigby his desire to order Mass to quit his dominions, but feared the French would make it a cause of quarrel if he did. The Consul now issued a notice in Guzeratti, a language which only British-Indian subjects could understand, warning these against having any commercial dealings with him. The French Consul protested vigorously on behalf of Mass and informed his Government of Rigby's notice. In due course the Foreign Office received a *note ver-*

bale containing a protest from the Government of the Emperor with regard to "the regrettable line of conduct which Mr Rigby—has pursued—respecting an employee of the French Consulate," to wit, Mass. A long dispatch to Earl Cowley dated Foreign Office February 29, 1860, marked "seen by Lord Palmerston," refers to the receipt of this, and transmits copies of four dispatches from Rigby, with enclosures, giving his version of the affair. It bears the comment "H.M. Government have no doubt of the correctness of this." The dispatch ends:—

"It is not the intention of H.M. Government to make any comments on the conduct of the French Consul at Zanzibar in employing in his consulate and giving his official support to a Person who has been notoriously engaged in the traffic in slaves, a conduct which can hardly be supposed to meet the approval of the French Government, but there is another matter with regard to which it may perhaps be opportune that you should request explanations from M. de Thouvenal. In the *Moniteur de la Colonization* of the 27th of January last year, an official announcement appeared to the effect that the Imperial Government had given directions that the recruitment of negro labourers on the east coast of Africa for the colony of Réunion should be abandoned.

"Your Excellency will perceive from Colonel Rigby's dispatches that up to the latest dates French vessels have been engaged in shipping negroes clandestinely from the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, in violation of the laws of Zanzibar, and in opposition to the wishes of the Sultan."

In another dispatch Rigby relates how a French ship belonging to La Réunion had anchored just under his windows densely crowded with slaves, most of them very young children, while there were also many women with infants at the breast—"a revolting and pitiable sight." Most of the poor creatures died of cholera while at this anchorage. The French Consul, far from interfering, undertook the commission of the vessel after it had been refused by a French merchant in consequence of the slaves on board. The dispatch continues:—

"If the French Consul here be permitted to afford French protection to vessels and individuals openly engaged in this traffic, the

Treaties for its suppression which exist between Her Majesty and the Sultan will be rendered ineffectual, for the French have been so unfriendly to His Highness, and have appeared so desirous of finding some cause of dispute, that he is afraid to interfere with any vessels under the French flag or said to be under French protection.

"During the month of March last, the Governor of La Réunion published a notice that the Port of Keelwa was appointed a place of shipment for negroes, and sent two vessels escorted by the French ship of war *L'Estafette* to that port to procure slaves in open violation of the laws of H.H. the Sultan. The Arab Governor protested against their proceedings, and the commander of the *Estafette* told him he did not care for the orders of the Sultan of Zanzibar, that HIS Sultan had sent him to see that the vessels procured negroes. On the passage to La Réunion cholera broke out on board these ships, and they landed the slaves on an island (a dependency of the Mauritius) and did not even bury the dead.

"The French Corvette *Cordelière* with the broad pennant of Commodore le Vicomte de Langle . . . arrived here on the 26th ult. [Oct.]. Directly she was signalled, the French Consul hauled down his flag, evidently to insult His Highness and induce the Commodore to quarrel with him. . . .

"The *Cordelière* left on the 5th inst., and the French Consul has since neglected to treat His Highness with the usual courtesy by not hoisting his flag in compliment to H.H. as all the ships in port and the other consuls do when he visits his ships of war."¹

At the end of March 1860 the *Cordelière* again arrived and the French Consul again hauled down his flag to prevent the Commodore from saluting the Sultan. As the vessel was entering the harbour she ran on a sandbank and for six days was nearly dry at low water. The Sultan at once sent all his boats, officers and men to her assistance and accommodated her crew on one of his own ships. Yet the very night that the *Cordelière* with this help had got afloat and reached her anchorage in front of the town, the Commodore suddenly made demands on the Sultan, threatening that if they were not complied with by 10 a.m. he would begin hostilities! The Sultan at once—it was after 9 p.m.—sent one of his Naval

¹ Enclosed with this dispatch was the correspondence with M. Cochet. See Appendix v(b).

commanders to inform Rigby of the demands, which had not even been made in writing. As addressed to an independent prince, they appeared to him insulting and humiliating, and he was not surprised when the commander told him that the Sultan and the Arab chiefs had declared they preferred ruin or death to submission.

One demand was that His Highness should issue an order forbidding any foreign consul from giving publicity to any order or notice addressed to the subjects of his Government by posting it at the Custom House or having it proclaimed by the public crier. This of course was aimed at Rigby. It had always been customary to post notices intended for British-Indian subjects at the office of the Customs Master, himself a British subject and the head of the Indian community. Rigby said at once that it was impossible for the Sultan to comply with such a demand, as he should certainly not alter the usual custom in consequence of any proceedings of the French Consul or French Commodore. Moreover, he said, any demand of such a nature was an aggression on the sovereign rights of the Sultan, entirely unwarranted by the Treaty which existed between the French Government and His Highness.

He told the commander that as the French Commodore was acting on the unfounded representations of the Consul, in ignorance of the manner in which that person had long behaved, he would write to the Commodore in the morning and endeavour to induce him to refrain from committing any act of hostility.

Early the next morning the commander again appeared and stated that the French were about to seize all the Sultan's ships of war. Rigby thereupon wrote a letter to the Commodore, but, hoping that things might still be arranged without his interference, did not send it until 11.30 a.m., when His Highness's Secretary called to inform him that the Commodore had threatened to commence hostilities in half an hour if all his demands were not complied with. He observed also that notwithstanding it was Good Friday the crew of the *Cordelière* were busy preparing for action.

The Commodore's reply was short and unsatisfactory, and as there were about five thousand British subjects in Zanzibar who would have been the chief sufferers had the town been attacked, Rigby sent a further solemn protest, saying he still found it impossible to believe that hostilities so entirely unprovoked, unjust, cruel and ruinous in their consequences to the future of the Zanzibar Dominions could really be contemplated, especially after the Sultan's hospitable attentions to the corvette while aground. To this the Commodore responded in conciliatory terms, but next morning the Sultan's secretary arrived with a threatening letter received the previous evening from the French Consul, saying that force would be employed if his demands were not complied with within twenty-four hours. To save the town from bloodshed and ruin, Rigby advised the Sultan to comply under protest. In his dispatch he wrote:—

“These proceedings of the French have caused a deep feeling of indignation amongst all classes here; I felt that if I remained a silent spectator of such unjust menaces, calculated, and I believe intended, to weaken the authority of the young Sultan, who has shown himself so friendly to the British Government, and to humiliate him in the eyes of his subjects and prepare the way for future French aggression, that my influence here would have been lessened and the French have been encouraged to renew their attacks against the independence of this State.”

So he again wrote to the Commodore, telling him of the advice he had given the Sultan and solemnly recording his deep sense of the injustice and humiliation inflicted on a Prince who had committed no act of disrespect or discourtesy towards the French Government and had long quietly submitted to the insults and slights cast on him by the Consul.¹

A new Consul, M. Derché, had arrived in the *Cordelière* to supersede Cochet, who was dismissed in consequence of complaints made by French merchants regarding the pernicious effect on their legitimate trade of his association with the infamous Buona Ventura Mass, and the open scandal of his

¹ For the correspondence with the Commodore, see Appendix v(c).

private life. And yet the Vicomte de Langle had the effrontery to stand up for both Cochet the Pole and Mass the Spaniard!

In June Lord Cowley reported that he had been apprised that "in consequence of the want of labourers in Réunion, the Government of the Emperor had been constrained again to permit the purchase of slaves on the East Coast of Africa to be introduced into that island as free labourers." He was instructed to express the regret and disappointment of H.M. Government at the revival of a measure which it had hoped had been for ever abandoned.

In the same month, by desire of Lord John Russell, Lord Cowley wrote to M. de Thouvenal enclosing a *memo* founded upon dispatches lately received from Rigby. The French retort was another *note verbale* (July 9, 1860) complaining of Colonel Rigby's conduct. The Foreign Office of course forwarded copies of all the correspondence to the Consul, asking for his observations.

Admiral Keppel also had been reporting ill of M. Cochet, narrating how by his agency the captain of the barque *Formosa Estrella* had been warned by the warship *Somme* of the proximity of the *Lyra*, and had thus been able to escape. The French Government explained that it was an officer in the service of the Sultan who proceeded in the *Somme* to the place where the slaver was lying and warned its master, whilst the officers of the *Somme* abstained from making any communication on the subject. So eager was our Government, as usual, to take the easy path and avoid trouble, that Lord Cowley was actually instructed to inform M. de Thouvenal that "H.M.'s Government had learnt this reply with satisfaction!" Some anonymous higher official however minuted the dispatch to the effect that to him it did *not* seem satisfactory, and that "the whole thing looks like a trick." But already (June 14th) the French Government, realizing from Rigby's dispatches and other sources, though not openly admitting, the disgrace and danger of Cochet's proceedings, had removed that worthy from his post. While denying that he had connived with Mass,

M. de Thouvenal had admitted the necessity for strict investigation of charges respecting his dissolute manner of life. Nevertheless the French Government had "aucune doute sur le mauvais vouloir systématique dont le Consul d'Angleterre est animé à l'égard des Français qui ont occasionnellement des relations avec lui."¹ France was certainly most unfortunate in her consuls, evidently being at no pains to secure gentlemen, or even Frenchmen, for such posts. Owing to the scandalous publicity of his "private life," not a single European resident of Zanzibar had remained on visiting terms with Cochet. His behaviour to the Sultan had been outrageous. He had even gone the length of reviling him in foul language in the presence of several officers of the British and French Navies and other consuls, and not only Rigby but the United States Consul had remonstrated about his proceedings to the Commodore. His successor, Derché, a Levantine by birth, on arrival pointedly omitted to visit the British Consul and was discourteous subsequently also. There was much trouble with him owing to a quite unfounded accusation of drunkenness and theft he brought against liberty men from H.M.S. *Sidon*. He was soon superseded and succeeded by a Pole who "lived in a most disreputable manner and bore a very indifferent character."²

In August Rigby reported that all the slaves purchased for Mass and emancipated by the Sultan were now located on His Highness's own estates, in number between three hundred and four hundred, a very small proportion, alas, of the whole amount. He had discovered that Vidal Frères of Marseilles were the owners of the *Formosa Estrella*, and that they had

¹ "no doubt as to the systematic ill-will by which the English Consul is animated towards the Frenchmen who occasionally have relations with him."

² Another example: A *memo re* the Slave Trade from Khartoum, 1856-1857, contains an account of a M. Malzac, formerly a Secretary of the French Legation at Athens, who for four years had been engaged directly and on a large scale in the trade, importing arms from France, and equipping four hundred men at a time with rifles and lances, impressing and keeping in his service from two thousand to three thousand labourers, and maintaining permanent fortified stations.

employed Mass as their agent.¹ In November she was captured under Spanish colours by authorities of the Sultan at Lamoo. She had been hanging about the coast for four and a half months, prevented from securing a cargo by the vigilance of Captain Oldfield, and now her commander allowed her to be taken without a struggle. He was in a predicament, for Mass had promised to provide the money to pay for four hundred slaves, but had only produced enough to buy one hundred, and had now fled. Rigby had to assure the Sultan of the legality of this capture.

Some weeks before, he had received information that a vessel had been seen at anchor near the Island of Monfia. The *Lyra* put to sea the same night, and captured a large American clipper-built ship completely equipped for the slave trade. The commander stated that he had been induced to engage in the traffic because Mass had written to Barcelona that there were no British cruisers on the East Coast. He stated too that the money for the purchase of the slaves was sent to Mass from Marseilles in vessels belonging to Vidal Frères. A copy of the charter-party made with Mass was found on board. The return of the *Lyra* with the captured vessel in tow caused a great sensation in Zanzibar, for it was the first time a captured slaver had ever been brought into the harbour.

“Commander Buckley to Rear-Admiral Sir H. Keppel.

“H.M.S. *Persian*

“ZANZIBAR

“Dec. 31st, 1860

“SIR,

“I have the honour to report to you that, from the information I have been able to collect as yet, the Slave Trade seems dull at

¹ Our Consul at Marseilles, in reply to a request from the Foreign Office, said that many other firms had been or were still involved in the Slave Trade, and that especially the firm of Régis had made a handsome fortune out of it. “Large houses at Marseilles and Barcelona entered very largely into the slave trade; they used to have splendid vessels come out; no expense was spared, and a very large amount of capital was embarked in the trade. That was a great deal checked, and during the last year that I was at Zanzibar, out of six vessels that were sent out from a certain house at Marseilles, five were either lost or captured.” (Rigby. Evidence, 1871.)

present about this part of the coast; Lieut.-Colonel Rigby, H.B.M.'s Consul here, having caused the noted slave dealer, Mass, to be banished from the territories of H.M. the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that person has been obliged to retire to Aden."

A dispatch from Russell to Rigby, dated May 20, 1861, contains:—

"As regards your dispatch no. 44 of the 27th August, I have to state that I approve the language held by you to the Sultan of Zanzibar . . . with reference to the shipment of slaves from his dominions by persons acting in conjunction with the slave agent, Mass.

"With reference to your dispatch no. 78 of the 26th of Nov. last, reporting the proceedings of Sayyid Saood bin Hillal in seizing and ordering to be put to death an Arab named Salim Jubran on account of his having furnished you with information respecting the movements of the slave dealers, I have to instruct you to acquaint H.H. the Sultan that your conduct in demanding the instant dismissal of Sayyid Saood from the Governorship of Lamoo . . . has been entirely approved by H.M.'s Government. . . .

"I approve of your suggestion that the services of Salim Jubran should be retained at a small salary for the purpose of procuring information respecting the proceedings of the slave dealers. . . ."

A few days earlier Russell had written to Cowley:—

"H.M. Government cannot but think that Colonel Rigby was borne out in the course which he pursued in warning British subjects at Zanzibar not to have any dealings with Mass, and they do not doubt that if the Government of the Emperor had been aware of the true character of this individual, M. de Thouvenal would not have placed in your Excellency's hands the *note verbale* complaining of Colonel Rigby's conduct in this affair which your Excellency transmitted to me in your dispatch of the 11th February, 1860."

In July he forwarded to Cowley a copy of a dispatch from Rigby reporting that the traffic in slaves at the Comoro Islands had again been resumed by French vessels. Earl Russell's comment was:—

"H.M. Government cannot but think that Colonel Rigby has made his report upon insufficient information, and that it is in

reality destitute of any foundation; but I nevertheless think it right that your Excellency should acquaint the French Government that such a report has reached the Government of Her Majesty, in order that it may receive an official denial."

Only four days later he had to transmit a dispatch from our Consul at the Comoro Islands, which "confirms entirely Colonel Rigby's report, and leaves no room for doubting that notwithstanding the dispatch of Prince Napoleon to the Governor of Réunion of January 6, 1859 . . . this traffic has again been resumed."

M. de Thouvenal asserted that a mistake had been made and "free black labourers," lawfully recruited, confounded with slaves. Inquiries addressed by Earl Russell to the Commander-in-Chief on the Cape Station left him in no doubt as to the truth of Rigby's original report.

Meanwhile a fresh cloud had arisen on the horizon. Admiral Keppel had reported that the French were erecting a large barrack capable of holding twelve hundred men in the centre of the town of Zanzibar. Lord Cowley was instructed by Lord John Russell (November 26, 1860) to remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs that "the Imam of Muscat is an ally of Great Britain, and that his interests will be carefully guarded by H.M.'s Government." (Apparently by this time the Foreign Office had forgotten that the old Imam was dead and the inheritance divided.) M. de Thouvenal explained that the barrack was to be a religious foundation comprising hospital, schools and workshops. Copies of the dispatches were forwarded to Rigby with a request that he should keep the Government informed as to these proceedings. On January 2, 1861, before this reached him, he had reported the arrival on September 21st of the steam corvette *Somme* under the command of the Vicomte de Langle with a number of Jesuit priests, nuns and artificers, and their establishment in "a barrack-like range of buildings commanding the whole town." More priests and artificers were expected, and a similar mission had been landed at Mohilla, one of the Comoro Islands. He commented:—

"I think there is no doubt that this mission, conveyed here by the French naval Commander-in-Chief, is an enterprise of the French Government. It has created great excitement amongst the Arabs and African population, being considered as the certain prelude to French aggression."

In answer to Lord John Russell's dispatch, which reached him only on May 30th, he wrote (July 1, 1861):—

"The building certainly more resembles a large fortified barrack than anything else. It could with ease accommodate 1,200 men, and probably as many as 2,000. It is the most extensive range of buildings in the town, is surrounded with a very high stone wall, and contains three spacious courts with wells in each. The Abbé Favat, Vicar-General of La Réunion, and a Surgeon of the French Navy, who wears his uniform, are at the head of the establishment, which I have no doubt is an enterprise of the French Government, being on a scale too vast to be supported by private charities. The priests have also recently purchased some land beyond the town, near the sea-shore. . . ."

On the strength of Rigby's previous dispatch Lord John Russell had written to Lord Cowley (June 27th):—

"The building . . . might very easily, substituting for its present occupiers a body of French troops or sailors, be converted practically into a strong fortress, the possessors of which would be masters of the Sultan's capital.

". . . H.M.'s Government could not see with indifference any events which tended to destroy the independence of the Sultan, or to transfer his territory to another Power."

M. de Thouvenal declared that the building was solely for mission purposes, but suggested that if H.M. Government had any doubts, he would be quite ready to sign a Convention by which both Governments should agree to respect the territorial possessions of the Sultan. A Declaration was issued (1862) that "H.M. the Queen and H.M. the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the importance of maintaining the independence of H.H. the Sultan of Zanzibar, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to respect the territories and possessions of that Sovereign."

In a long speech in the House of Lords on July 15, 1861,¹ Lord Stratheden, urging the restoration of a British Consul at Mozambique, reviewed the whole situation with regard to the East Coast slave trade, exposing the vigour and tenacity with which the French demand for negro labour had outlived the firmest resolutions and strongest measures to extinguish it.² He proceeded:—

“ . . . The Government of Britain, the Government of Portugal, and at the head of France itself a mind which no adversity could shake [i.e. the Emperor], have all been overcome by it. . . .

“ . . . And now, having incurred a check which all Europe saw, we slide into inaction. If such inaction is not on the face of it admissible, what makes it wholly inadmissible is that a degrading motive is quite sure to be ascribed to it. It must strike the world that we shrink from the necessity of defending Portugal should our consular authority engage her in that strenuous resistance to the slave trade which France may not entirely approve of.³ The world knows at least that since France had reason to dislike it our consular authority has vanished from Mozambique. Undue desire to escape collision with that Government will always be imputed to us, although perhaps unjustly, until we venture to restore it. . . .

“As things stand . . . but one consideration could justify a Government in pausing—that is the difficulty of finding anybody suited to the office. It requires aptitudes not always found together. If fancy was indulged in the sketch of a character adapted to it, it would light on someone who had long been accustomed to influence the Portuguese authorities, who would join urbanity with firmness in so doing, who was zealous in his opposition to the slave trade, who had succeeded in restraining it, and who could bring to bear upon the evils and disorders of Mozambique the talent and authority by which in a course of years he had reformed the situation of Angola. In Mr Gabriel the Government would find perhaps that such a character exists, even if they are not able to enlist him in a service so full of danger and of honour, and for which his past career so eminently marks him. Mr Gabriel has now been a British representative at Loanda fifteen years. . . . He is in England at this

¹ Hansard, vol. clix, pp. 857–875.

² The French-African slave trade was eventually checked “by our Government entering into an arrangement with the French by which they were allowed to take labourers from India.” (Rigby. Evidence, 1871.)

³ He is thinking of the case of the *Charles et Georges*.

moment. But setting Mr Gabriel aside, Colonel Rigby has just left Zanzibar, and no one can have watched the history of eastern Africa for the last few years without being struck by the many proofs which it reveals of his judgment, of his energy and fortitude.”¹

Lord Wodehouse spoke against the motion and Earl Granville and the Bishop of Oxford appealed to Lord Stratheden not to press it to a division. Lord Stratheden in answer said “he must remark, in reference to the statement of the noble Lord the Under Secretary, that as to the activity of the slave trade on the eastern coast of Africa he preferred the evidence of Colonel Rigby, Dr Livingstone and our naval officers, indorsed as it was, and published by the Foreign Office, to any which the noble Lord the Under Secretary could advance.”

Having ventilated the subject, he agreed to withdraw the motion.

In fairness to France, it must be said in conclusion that the first anti-slave laws in Europe were French—the work of the Revolution. Negro slavery was abolished by the National Convention in 1794. Danton spoke. “Représentants du peuple Français,” he said, “jusqu’ici nous n’avions décrété la liberté qu’en égoïstes, pour nous seuls, mais aujourd’hui nous proclamons à la face de l’univers, et les générations futures trouveront leur gloire dans ce décret, nous proclamons la liberté universelle! La Convention nationale a fait son devoir.” This was carried unanimously. But slavery was re-established by the Consulate in 1802 “conformément aux lois et règlements antérieurs à 1789.” Afterwards the honour of the initiative passed to England, whose Act of Abolition was passed March 4, 1831, actual abolition taking place in 1834. But all along noble-minded Frenchmen also were working for the abolition of the trade. In 1822 their leader, the Duc de Broglie, endeavoured to secure total abolition. In a pamphlet he published in that year (*Cruautés de la Traite des Noirs*) he describes how three ophthalmic surgeons had published a book on their subject containing an account of a serious outbreak of ophthalmia on

¹ See Hansard, vol. clxiv, p. 864.

a slave ship, and how "29 sont devenus aveugles et ont été jetés à la mer." On this ship the slaves were confined in the hold and rationed four ounces (less than half a glass) of water per day. He describes also how on another ship in 1820, when it was chased by English boats because fourteen slaves had been stolen, two negro girls of twelve to fourteen were hidden in a barrel, nearly killing them by suffocation, whilst there was every reason to believe that twelve other slaves enclosed in barrels had been thrown into the sea to avoid discovery. In 1827 the Duke made a further attempt to rouse public opinion. In 1840 we find him Chairman of a Committee with abolition as its object, which after enormous labour presented a report to the Minister of Marine in 1843. Largely owing to the Duke's efforts, slavery was abolished in the French colonies by the Republic in 1848. In 1858 a Commission was nominated to inquire into the new African "immigrant" or "engagé" system, and again the Duke was its President. In 1861 Augustin Cochin, an ex-Mayor of Paris, published a work of nearly a thousand pages (in two volumes) on labour in the French colonies before and after the Emancipation Act. He gave high praise to Great Britain and her philanthropists in the cause and quoted Canning, "The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured. On this point we have no liberty." In his Introduction (p. 31) he says, "L'exemple mémorable donné par l'Angleterre et par la France honore l'humanité toute entière, l'obstination de l'Amérique et de l'Espagne la déshonore." Arguing for Abolition before the Commission, he had said in 1840, "Or il y avait à craindre que le nègre, ayant peu de besoins, facilement satisfait dans ces beaux climats, travaillât infiniment peu. Dans les colonies anglaises, cette inquiétude n'avait pas été confirmée en général; le nègre s'était montré actif, industriel, amateur de luxe, du bien-être ou avare, bien plutôt que paresseux et indolent."¹

In fiction there is no more telling account of the slave trade

¹ Rapport du Comité, Président le Duc de Broglie, à la Ministère de Marine sur la traite des esclaves, 1843, p. 56.

in the interior of Africa than in the story by the French author Jules Verne translated under the title *Dick Sands, The Boy Captain*, 1874.¹

If the facts narrated in this chapter have disposed any reader to a pharisaic attitude towards the French in this connection, some corrective will be found in Chapters XII and XIII.

¹ Sir Samuel Baker's exciting boys' book, *Cast Up by the Sea*, 1876, deals a little with the same subject.

CHAPTER XI

ZANZIBAR. THE SLAVE TRADE. PERSIA AND ARABIA

RIGBY'S first contact with the horrors of the slave trade was in 1856 on the Island of Bassadore in the Persian Gulf. One day a slave rushed into his tent, threw himself down and clasped his knees, claiming his protection. Both his arms were quite raw to the bone, the flesh having been cut away by his bonds. A few days afterwards the chief of the tribe to which he had belonged as a slave sent one of his chief officers to demand that he should be given up. He had reckoned without his host. Rigby in a fury of indignation snatched up a rhinoceros-hide whip which, acquired as a curio, happened to be lying at hand, gave him a severe thrashing, and told him to go to his master and tell him he would get the same treatment if he were impertinent enough to come near him. No one claimed the man after that, and he became a seaman on the next British ship that came in.

This was the only instance of a slave coming to claim protection from Rigby as a British officer in Persia, for although as Magistrate at Bushire and Karrack he proclaimed that all slaves were entitled to claim their freedom, none took advantage of the privilege. There appeared to be only domestic slavery, and employment of slaves on ships, and there could in fact be no legal status of slavery in any part of the Persian Gulf, because without exception all the chiefs of the maritime tribes of the Gulf and the coast of Arabia had had treaties with the British Government since 1822 by which all declared slave-trading to be piracy and gave authority to our warships to seize and treat as pirates any of their vessels found with negro slaves on board. Slaves on shore could only be slaves through acts of piracy, for children born to them were free, as also in Arabia. The Mohammedan States of the Gulf only

recognized mild domestic slavery very like such as obtained in Old Testament days. The actual marketing of human beings was entirely illegal. Nevertheless there had always been a considerable traffic in newly imported slaves, who were taken principally to Muscat and neighbouring ports, and thence sent to Bassorah and Turkish territories, and not a few also to Indian ports. A large proportion of the imports were women destined for concubines. Subsequently, in dhows captured at Zanzibar, Rigby found quantities of letters from various chiefs of the Gulf containing minute descriptions of the sort of women desired for their harems. It was quite a common thing in Zanzibar for an Arab to buy a number of girls in the market, keep them as his own concubines for ten or twelve months, and then sell them to a northern trader, of course replacing them with fresh purchases for his own harem.

During the years preceding and immediately following Rigby's appointment to Zanzibar, the traffic was increasing by leaps and bounds. With special reference to this northward trade, the German missionaries, Dr Krapf and Mr Rebmann, declared that "slavery was fast depopulating that side of the continent, barbarizing the residents on the coast, carrying desolation and death far into the interior, and effectually neutralizing every attempt to introduce Christianity." In 1853 Dr Krapf saw twenty Arab ships at Magadosha engaged in smuggling slaves to Arabia. In March 1859 Rear-Admiral Sir F. Grey wrote to the Admiralty in respect of information he had received from Captain Rigby, and urged that British efforts to combat the evil should be in no way relaxed.

It was not until he had freed the slaves of British subjects, fought the issues involved with Portugal and France and seen the position of affairs within Zanzibar more settled, that Rigby himself was free to direct his whole efforts to the suppression of this particular branch of the trade. In April 1861 he wrote to Admiral Walker to report the arrival of the *Lyra* and a request he had made to Commander Oldfield to remain for the protection of British and foreign residents until the piratical

Arabs from the Persian Gulf had departed. He explained that during the north-west monsoon prevailing in January, February and March thousands of these Arabs were in the habit of coming to Zanzibar to kidnap children and procure slaves, committing murders and outrages of all kinds with impunity because the soldiers of the Sultan were afraid to interfere with them, whilst the Sultan himself actually paid them large sums of money to purchase their forbearance.¹ With this money they purchased more slaves. In the early months of this year, 1861, their numbers and effrontery had increased beyond measure. They had even attacked the Guard at the Custom House, they had wounded four servants of the American Consulate, they had locked the U.S. Consul in his house and blockaded it the whole day, while others went about the town brandishing swords and shouting that they would have the blood of a white man. At night they embarked slaves, a single dhow often taking from one hundred to one hundred and fifty. Until the *Lyra* arrived, the town had been completely at their mercy, and even the Sultan had discontinued his daily Durbar and taken refuge in the upper story of his Palace to avoid their insolent and importunate demands.

Commander Oldfield took energetic measures, captured many of the slave dhows and so broke the pirates' spirits that it was possible to order them off. They were allowed three days to re-embark on condition they took no slaves and submitted their craft to search by the *Lyra's* boat-crews after they had left the harbour.

This was the first time this traffic, carried on in open violation of the Treaties, and engaged in by all the chief Arabs in Zanzibar, including the nearest relatives of the Sultan, had ever been interfered with by a British warship.² Rigby now

¹ "The sum distributed by Majid amongst these people every year is a serious drain upon the Zanzibar Treasury."—Sir William Coghlan, 1871.

² In May 1853 the Honourable Company's Schooner *Constance* captured two buggalows, the first seizures made after the Treaty of 1845 (Act of Parliament, September 5, 1848, 11 and 12 Vic. c. cxxviii). They were brought to Bombay and were a cause of immense commotion and correspondence, though they were not slave dhows, but contained general cargoes and only

suggested that it would soon be entirely stopped, if a cruiser were always present during the first three months of the year.

In tribute to the *Lyra* and her Commander he wrote:—

“The exertions of Commander Oldfield to check a traffic of such magnitude, and one which is aided and abetted by every Arab here, have been most arduous. This is the most unhealthy season of the year here, with the rain falling in torrents every night, and a stifling, close atmosphere during the day; nevertheless the boats of H.M.S. *Lyra* have been away night and day, and have been engaged with almost overwhelming numbers of these piratical Arabs, and have inspired them with such fear that it has almost entirely checked the export of slaves for the remainder of this season. . . . The exertions of Commander Oldfield have been so energetic and so successful that his vessel has been the terror of all the traffickers in slaves, so much so that the *Lyra* is spoken of everywhere as ‘El Sheetan’ (the Devil). . . .”

In dispatches to Bombay and to the Foreign Office Rigby emphasized the great increase in the traffic, pointing out that until the last few years the vessels which carried the slaves had merely carried a few in addition to a legitimate cargo,¹ whereas by 1861 from one hundred to two hundred slaves were being shipped in a single vessel. One captured by H.M.S. *Sidon* actually had on board 273. The sufferings of the slaves thus crowded were so terrible that frequently half of them died on the voyage. Far from the Treaty of 1845 improving matters, they had gone from bad to worse. In 1840 the Acting Resident in the Persian Gulf had reported to Bombay that the number of slaves sold annually in the Gulf was estimated at from four to five thousand, about a hundred vessels being involved in carrying them from Zanzibar. Twenty years later some one hundred and fifty vessels were carrying at the very least ten

thirteen slaves. The captains pleaded that they had never heard of any Treaty on the subject, and Major Hamerton was instructed to issue monitions on the subject. All the few early cases of seizure related not to slave vessels, but to ordinary craft with slaves on board, the most with thirty-six, several with only one or two. There was long official correspondence, e.g. about one Somali girl in 1854 (India Office, Board's Collections, vol. 2580). So far as the Government of Zanzibar was concerned, the Treaty was null and void from the day it was signed.

¹ See previous footnote.

thousand per annum, of whom fully one half were shipped actually from the town harbour with the full knowledge of the authorities.

During Rigby's first season at Zanzibar nothing could be done on account of the expected invasion from Muscat, and during the second Majid had persuaded him that he was taking measures to suppress the traffic. Now, after the check to the other branches of the trade, it was clear that the export to the north alone remained to make slave-dealing profitable to the Zanzibar Arab. As it was, the East Coast Arabs were destroying themselves by their detestable vices, and becoming yearly more impoverished, so that their landed property was passing into the possession of British Indians.¹ Rigby urged the Government to follow up the blow the trade had for the first time received when the *Lyra* and *Sidon*² between them captured twenty-five vessels engaged in it by further active measures in the autumn and in the spring of 1862. Such, he declared, would finally stop an evil which was fast draining a fine fruitful country of its inhabitants, ruining the legitimate trade of Zanzibar and rendering its Arab inhabitants ever more degraded, idle and sensual. All that was required was the presence of two gunboats during the months of March, April, September and October for a further two years. The Arabs were prepared for the total abolition of the trade, and to their consolation had observed that the British Indians were in no respect worse off since they had been compelled to give up their slaves and employ free labourers.

Brigadier Coghlan, in his Report of 1860, endorsed all that Rigby had recommended in his dispatches, especially his

¹ In a dispatch of July 12, 1861, to Bombay, "The Arabs are all wasting their substance in drunkenness and debauchery, the degraded victims of the system of slavery by which they regard any kind of honest industry as beneath an Arab and only befitting negro slaves."

² Giving evidence before the Committee of 1871, Rigby spoke most scathingly of the type of vessel sent out to deal with the traffic, saying that our squadron was the laughing-stock of the Americans, French and Germans—"the *Sidon* an old tub that any dhow on the coast could beat, the *Gorgon* that took forty days to do eight hundred miles . . ."

criticisms of the impotence of our unsuitable cruisers and his recommendation of steam gunboats of light draught. "Their boats," he wrote, ". . . creep close to the shore, where they know that it would be unsafe for ships to cruise, and if chased by a ship of war, they think no more of throwing slaves overboard than if they were animals."

Majid's character, owing to his dissolute manner of life, was rapidly deteriorating. Not only the British, but even the French Consul, on his farewell visit in July, warned him that his continued extravagance and inattention to business would ruin his dominions, and the United States Consul remonstrated with him in similar terms, as did the more respectable members of his own family and the Arab chiefs, but all in vain. The apparent sincerity with which at a time when he was good-natured and well-meaning, however weak, he was ready to co-operate with Rigby, conscious that he actually owed him his throne and probably his life, was giving place to ill-humour and prevarication. On July 26, 1861, Rigby wrote to Lord John Russell to say that he had pointed out to the Sultan that the Treaties between his father and the British Government had been rendered nugatory seeing that all the Arabs were continuing to export thousands of slaves every year without any check whatever. He had told him that in the Portuguese dominions on both coasts of Africa the transport of slaves coastwise was prohibited, and that after fifteen years all slaves in any Portuguese territories would be free. Further, that the Sultan of Turkey and the Sultan of Persia had forbidden the traffic in negroes. And that in view of all this he trusted Majid would not hesitate effectually to put a stop to the export of slaves from his own coasts. His Highness replied that so far as regarded himself he was well aware of the evils and miseries of the trade, but that the Arabs were very jealous of any interference with it. Finally he had promised to consider the matter and write and communicate the result. When no letter came from him, a few days later Rigby again approached him, and requested an answer in writing, which he again promised.

Shortly after the Consul was taken ill and could attend to no business, but on his recovery he again pressed for an answer, only to receive evasive replies. By this time two months had elapsed, and the Sultan was told emphatically that the British Government would be expecting his answer, and that in three days a vessel would be leaving for Aden providing an opportunity of sending it. Majid however already knew that Rigby had applied for leave on medical certificate, so he said he would send the answer by him. Rigby told him that his departure was uncertain and that he must beg the answer be given without further delay. Thereupon the Sultan promised he should have it that very day, but failed to keep his promise, sending a letter only one hour before the ship for Aden was due to sail, in order that the Consul might have no opportunity of remonstrating on his having replied in terms so entirely at variance with those Rigby had been led to expect from his conversation on the subject.

The Sultan's letter, after the usual compliments, ran as follows:—

“Respecting what you mentioned to me regarding the desire of the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, H.M. Minister for Foreign Affairs, that I should prohibit the transport of slaves from Keelwa to my possessions on the coast of Africa, within the limits in which it was permitted by the Treaty concluded between my late father Saiyid Said bin Sultan and H.M. the Queen, including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba; my friend, it is my wish to comply with all the desires of the British Government, but these countries cannot do without slaves, they differ from other countries, and you are fully acquainted with the circumstances of these parts, and that when the slaves of the Hindees [i.e. the Mohammedan natives of India] and of the Banians [i.e. the Hindoo natives of India] were emancipated it caused great injury to those countries and a decrease in the trade, and put a stop to business, and caused a decrease in the import revenue, and impoverished the people and made them bankrupt; and if I put a stop to the traffic in slaves, it will ruin these countries, and it will ruin my subjects; and I am certain that the British Government would never agree to this—for the British Government is far off, and is ignorant of the circumstances of these countries.”

Rigby called and remonstrated at his having sent an answer so completely at variance with what he had repeatedly promised. He took with him several copies in Arabic of part of a dispatch addressed several years before by Lord Palmerston to Colonel Hamerton instructing him to inform the late Imam that the traffic in slaves was doomed to destruction, and Great Britain the chief instrument in the hands of Providence for the accomplishment of this end, that the Arabs had better therefore submit to the will of Providence, abandon the trade and engage in lawful commerce and the cultivation of their soil. These papers he distributed among the chief men present, at the same time telling the Sultan just what the position was in regard to the Treaties and that the British Government would certainly insist on their being observed. He remonstrated also regarding the improper and unfounded statements made by the Sultan concerning the Indians. And he pointed to the example of Johanna, whose trade and wealth were annually increasing since its Sultan had suppressed the trade among his Arab population.

The wily Majid replied by begging Rigby not to regard his letter as the real answer to Lord John Russell's request. "You know," he said, "it is an Arab custom always to give an evasive answer at first, and not to comply with anything requested without the appearance of refusal at first." Rigby would soon be leaving and he would send a satisfactory answer by him.¹

To Bombay Rigby reported that the transport of slaves to the coasts of Arabia in Arab dhows had recommenced and was quite unchecked by the Zanzibar authorities. He quoted several instances of dhows sailing with stolen or kidnapped negroes, and described how twelve kidnapped slaves were discovered in the house of a Jemadar in the Sultan's service. The man was arrested and taken before His Highness, who immediately released him. He continued:—

"On the 23rd August a boat's crew of H.M.S. *Gorgon* arrived here in a dhow from Keelwa, their boat having been lost while cruising.

¹ See dispatch to Earl Russell dated Lamoo, October 5, 1861.

The following day I received information that a dhow belonging to an Arab was to embark 150 slaves that night at a point about seven miles from the harbour. The officer in command of the boat's crew of H.M.S. *Gorgon* therefore proceeded to the spot indicated, and found the dhow shipping slaves. He attacked with the boat of the Consulate, and captured the dhow after a sharp resistance, during which the owner of the dhow and also its commander were killed. Finding it impossible to get the dhow under sail, having only four European seamen with him, and their ammunition being all expended, the officer in charge of the boat brought away 17 of the slaves, and returned to the Consulate for a supply of ammunition. Thus the Arab crew were enabled to re-take the dhow and to re-land the remaining slaves. The boat returned after obtaining a supply of ammunition, but was unable to find the dhow. During the following afternoon I ascertained that this dhow was anchored some miles further up the coast, and the boat's crew returned and took possession of her. A very large number of letters was found on board, addressed to the various ports in the Persian Gulf, and nearly all related to the traffic in slaves, advising that slaves had been shipped to order, or for sale on commission, in this or other dhows; or were about to be sent by dhows leaving later in the season. These letters were from all classes of Arabs resident at Zanzibar, and clearly proved that almost the whole Arab population, including members of the Sultan's family, is openly engaged in the traffic in slaves with the Persian Gulf.

"The following morning I called on His Highness the Sultan, and remonstrated with him against the flagrant breach of treaties. . . . On previous occasions when I had remonstrated with His Highness, he had replied in a petulant manner that he could not help it, and that the slaves taken north are all stolen. I therefore on this occasion selected twelve of the intercepted letters, all of which were from well-known residents at Zanzibar, and contained notices of slaves shipped by them to Muscat and other ports, and I delivered these to His Highness, saying that here was complete proof under their own handwriting of the manner in which they were engaged in this illegal traffic, and that if he would punish these persons, it would show the inhabitants that he was determined to carry out his treaties with the British Government. One of these letters was from the daughter of His Highness's cousin . . . to her husband . . . Chief of Soweik, advising him that she had sent him two slaves and was looking out for an Abyssinian concubine for him. His Highness refused to receive these letters or to take any notice of them. I then handed them to his Chief Secretary . . . who also refused to take them,

adding in a sneering tone, 'These letters are nothing to us. Arabs have carried on the slave trade since the time of Noah, and they must have slaves.'

"I then read out the letters myself to His Highness and the Chiefs present.

"His Highness appears to be under the impression that as the Northern Slave Traffic has been carried on for many years without interruption, notwithstanding the Treaties for its suppression, the efforts to check it which have been recently made by H.M.'s ships have been instigated by me alone, and therefore he thinks that after my departure the traffic will be carried on as before without interference."¹

On September 1st H.M.S. *Gorgon* arrived, and Rigby was suffering from such severe ill-health that he arranged to leave on her. Accompanied by Commander Wilson, R.N., he called on the Sultan and at the close of an interview of some two hours, in which the slave trade was the main subject of discussion, Majid once more solemnly promised to send his reply to Earl Russell. He failed to do so, and Rigby subsequently ascertained that he had given no instructions to his secretary to prepare a letter, and never had any intention of sending an answer. His bad faith was shown further by his sending Saiyid Saood as Governor to Lamoo directly after the departure of the *Gorgon*. When this man had previously been Governor he had seized and bound with cords Salim bin Jubran, threatening him with death because of his having given information about the traffic carried on by Mass. He had also imprisoned for four months, and for no other reason, a man who was about to proceed to the Somali country to inquire after the supposed survivors of the wreck of the *St Abbs*, a British ship. The man had with him proclamations printed in Mauritius in English, French and Arabic surmounted by the Royal Arms and sealed with the official seal of the Zanzibar Consulate, and all these Saood destroyed. Not only Rigby, but the United States Consul as well, had remonstrated with the Sultan on the impropriety of employing Saood in any further

¹ The Sultan was not lacking in shrewdness!

office of responsibility. He had further behaved outrageously to Hamburg merchants and been guilty of other grave offences, among them the execution of an inhabitant of Lamoo without trial, not to speak of large slave-dealing transactions. Nothing could better have expressed the absolutely truculent mood of the Sultan than the instant reappointment of such a person to this important post.

From Lamoo on his departure, Rigby wrote to Bombay:—

“From Brava the *Gorgon* proceeded to Lamoo, which had been appointed as the rendezvous for two divisions of boats which Commander Wilson had left cruising to intercept the piratical slave dhows on their passage north. We arrived off Lamoo on the 29th September, and the boats rejoined the same day, having captured eleven piratical dhows engaged in transporting slaves. Two dhows were subsequently captured by the boats in the creek leading to Lamoo, in one of which the Arabs were observed driving the slaves overboard with drawn swords directly the boats were seen; when captured, 46 slaves remained on board. About 600 slaves which had been transported from Keelwa and Zanzibar were in the town of Lamoo to be taken to the coast of Arabia after the departure of the *Gorgon's* boats. . . .

“Owing to the presence of H.M.S. *Gorgon* on the coast, very few cargoes of slaves have been taken North this season; while at Magadosha I ascertained that only two slave dhows had passed north; many dhows which had embarked slaves at Zanzibar and Keelwa had landed them on the coast fearing to prosecute their voyage. In consequence of the difficulty of carrying on this traffic the price of slaves had fallen. . . . At Lamoo I was informed that slaves could not be disposed of at any price.

“The destruction of this cruel and odious traffic, which has hitherto been carried on by these Arabs with almost entire impunity, has no doubt caused a feeling of irritation amongst the Arabs of Zanzibar, especially as nearly the whole of the Sultan's family are deeply interested in it. But I am confident that the best interests of the Zanzibar State will be promoted by its annihilation, and that if the recent efforts are continued a short time, nearly the entire export of slaves from the East Coast of Africa will be stopped. When the stoppage of this Northern slave traffic is effected, it will no longer be profitable to the Arab slave dealers to bring the slaves from the interior to sell on the coast.”

When Rigby was no longer Consul, as will be seen in Chapter XIII, there was a great recrudescence of the evil, and when he gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves in 1876 he drew attention to the increase in the trade up the Red Sea. As late as 1880 a deputation presented to Lord Granville a memorial on "the alarming increase of the slave trade in Egypt, the Red Sea and the Mozambique Channel."

In the Persian Gulf slave-dealing is not even yet quite at an end. In 1927 Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons, "His Majesty's Government maintain a naval detachment in the Persian Gulf, one of whose duties is to do whatever may be possible to prevent slave-dealing in that region, but in spite of this measure, it is not in their power to abolish the traffic altogether."¹

To conclude this chapter, Cope Devereux's account in *The Cruise of the "Gorgon"* of the incident in which that vessel's boat took part (p. 188) is worth quoting in full—with a page or two of the preceding matter:—

"By the Treaty of 1847 the Sultan of Zanzibar is allowed to traffic in domestic slaves between the latitudes of 10 S. and 2 N. All dhows without this limit engaged in the slave trade are liable to be captured, and all dhows *within* the limits can be captured if without the Sultan's pass and Banian Customs clearance, and all dhows without colours or papers can be captured. The northern dhows generally steal their slaves, and run outside the island of Zanzibar to cheat the revenue. After boarding the dhows, we generally put their crews on the nearest land, and take the slaves to the Seychelles, where they are taken care of.

"Until we get rid of the villainous crew, a sharp look-out must be kept on them. The *Lyra's* prize-crew of a dhow were surprised by the slaver's crew; when making sail their officer had a large turban-cloth thrown over his eyes, and, with the whole of his men, was thrown overboard. Their boat towing astern, after having a heavy stone thrown into her to sink her, was cut adrift, but fortunately

¹ See also the Report of the League of Nations Temporary Slavery Commission, 1925, etc.

was not damaged, and the officer and men got into their boat and were saved. . . .

"Having arrived at Zanzibar, we hasten on shore, and to our joy find the missing H. all right, comfortably lodged at the Consul's house. . . . We are also glad of the opportunity to pay a visit to his hospitable host, Colonel Rigby, Her Majesty's representative, of whose praiseworthy efforts to suppress the slave trade on this coast, and benevolent exertions for the emancipation of slaves within the Sultan's territories, we have heard so much.

"It being night, we found him according to Oriental custom on the top of the house, surrounded by a few guests, impatient to hear H.'s account of himself. We dro pinto arm-chairs, and, refreshed by the night air and deliciously cool claret, draw around him and listen most attentively to a yarn. . . .

". . . they kept along the coast, and on the 25th August arrived at Zanzibar. Here they found a genuine Samaritan in Colonel Rigby, who most kindly lodged them, and shared both house and wardrobe with them.

"I may mention that there is an Arab, named Jubran, employed at the Consulate as informer on the slave dealers. He is supposed to keep both eyes and ears always on the stretch, and on the least suspicion of a dhow taking slaves from this port by stealth to inform the Consul. The Arabs have vowed vengeance against this man, and one day kidnapped him and put him into a dhow, and carried him over to a solitary island with intent to hang him. Colonel Rigby luckily finding this out, hauled his flag down, and told the Sultan that he would not rehoist it until Jubran was delivered up alive. The Arab potentate, fearing the wrath of England, ordered the man to be brought back, and ever after this Jubran swears eternal gratitude to the Colonel, and is more than ever vigilant in looking after his slave-dealing countrymen.

"On the night of H.'s arrival, while relating his cruise to the Colonel, Jubran made his appearance with the news that a dhow would take in a cargo of kidnapped slaves about 10 p.m. off Frenchman's Island.

"The Colonel kindly offered his boat and a pilot to take our men to the spot, and also two of his Indian boatmen to assist. . . .

"The night was very favourable for such a venture—dark and cloudy. After a long quiet pull they got within twenty yards of the dhow, and, unobserved, plainly saw the rascals hurrying on board men, women and children chained in gangs. The pilot now says, 'Land me, then go and take her!' So, having dropped him overboard, he got into the bush, then into his canoe, already waiting to take

him back to Zanzibar. They then pulled closer to the vessel, then hoisting her huge sail and preparing to leave. One of the Consul's men then shouted in Arabic, 'Haul your sail down; Englishman wants to board you!' The Arabs answered, 'No slaves on board, we will not.' Our man—'You must.' Arabo—equivalent to 'I'll see you hanged first!' So they pulled up alongside, and the mêlée began; seventeen desperate fellows wielded two-handled swords right and left, one of them throwing an assegai just past H.'s head, nearly through the boat. Unluckily they had no rope in the boat to make her fast, and the bow-man was therefore obliged to hold on with a boathook.

"The bow-man was an Irishman, and had as usual a very short temper, but having a long boathook he knocked one of the Arabs down, and broke his staff, a part of which falling on board was returned with interest to the centre of his chest; but by this little freak of his he lost them their hold; so they dropped astern, firing their rifles as they went, and bowling over three Arabs.

"They then got their boat right across the bow, and while the bow-man held fast they boarded her. One of the marines, a fellow standing six feet one inch, rather astonished the Arabs by shooting down two of them in getting over her bow. The Arab crew for a short time held their ground; however in a word, they were driven over the stern, and our men found themselves without a man even scratched.

"The deck was certainly disgusting to behold. Three Arabs lay stiff, two shot through the head; the old chief, shot through both knees, fell down the hatchway; another poor fellow was gurgling his last, while several that jumped overboard wounded were drowned. All this was a sad spectacle; but when they looked at the innocent little children so lately kidnapped, then at the villainous countenances of the rascals wallowing in their blood, all pity for them vanished.

"Having no more ammunition, and expecting the Arabs from the shore to re-attack them, they had no time to lose, and therefore hastened to Zanzibar to get a few more cartridges.

"On returning they found the dhow had been removed into another creek. All her slaves excepting seventeen had been taken away, and also 1,100 dollars which they found out were on board when first taken.

"There was nothing left but to get the seventeen slaves out; so they handed down two women, full grown but very ugly, then two girls about thirteen years of age, one as thin as a whipping-post, the other as pretty as a negro girl can be. . . . Next an interesting chubby little girl under five years, who we immediately christened 'Topsy.'

A coloured cloth reaching from the breast to the knees was their only clothing. Next followed three men, idiotic-looking from bad treatment; and lastly nine little innocents under seven years, each with a dirty rag round his loins. All this was truly piteous to behold, and was sufficient to make one's blood boil."

Having burnt the dhow they made for Zanzibar. The narrative continues:—

"Next day several relatives of the deceased Arabs appealed to the Sultan against the English. Our fellows appeared before His Highness. 'What,' he said, 'do you mean to tell me that these five Englishmen drove seventeen Arabs into the sea? Shame to you, get you gone! You had no business to resist them when you had on board a cargo of stolen slaves.'"

After this it was scarcely safe to be out after dark. Numbers of Arabs only waited the opportunity of stabbing them separately, but the sailors always walked together armed with thick sticks, very often followed by a band of ruffianly Arabs, who nervously clutched their daggers but were afraid to strike.

CHAPTER XII

ZANZIBAR. THE SLAVE TRADE. THE UNITED STATES

LEST previous chapters have aroused an unjust measure of righteous indignation against the Latin races, it may be well to inquire what was the general attitude at the same period of the English-speaking peoples. And the result of the inquiry will be to show that if England chose its public servants better, and was better served by them than was France by hers, that if in England there was perhaps a rather larger, if still small, nucleus of the public possessed of imaginative insight and sympathy for the sufferings of fellow-men, broad-minded enough to recognize black people as really human at all—for that was the crux of the matter—yet Rigby was almost unique among British officials of his time in his sensitiveness to the horror of the slave trade, and in an inexpressed sense of justice which seemed to reach out to the only later formulated ideal of an Imperial Britain founded on Justice and Liberty.¹ Few, if any, other dispatches of the period glow with so passionate a fire of indignation and pity. That he was at least ahead of his time is shown by the temporary failure of his work for the East African negro, and the length of the struggle before victory was achieved. It was only in 1897 that the legal status

¹ An ideal which found definite and magnificent expression in a book which will be better appreciated by later generations, *Reflections on the Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain*, by the late Professor J. A. Cramb, M.A. (Macmillan, 1900). Professor Cramb defines the ideal of Imperial Britain as "to bring to the peoples of the earth beneath her sway the larger freedom and the higher justice." And again, "For justice men turn to the State in which Justice has no altar, Freedom no temple; but a higher than Justice, and a greater than Freedom, has in that State its everlasting seat. Throughout her bounds, in the city or on the open plain, in the forest or in the village, under the tropic or in the frozen zone, her subjects shall find Justice and Freedom as the liberal air, so that enfranchised thus, and the unfettered use of all his faculties secured, each may fulfil his being's supreme law."

of slavery ceased in Zanzibar, and only in 1927 that it was finally extirpated from the British African dominions.

Slavery, be it remembered, was only abolished in the United States after the intense struggle of the Civil War—a war in which English sympathies, strange as it now appears, were divided between the slave-holding South and the North which represented Liberty.¹ And slavery connotes slave trade. In 1857 an English commodore wrote most bitterly to his Admiral of “the prostitution of the American flag,” which “sets all our good efforts at defiance.” He goes on:—

“Such is American law! The captains of slavers ridicule it. They boast openly that money does all things, state there is a corner to creep out of if captured by American cruisers (which is a very remote chance); and, tauntingly, beg to be informed of an instance where a slaver’s captain has been hung for piracy. And they are right; the captains of U.S. cruisers do not, to my knowledge, make captures so much on account of the detained vessel being engaged in the Slave Trade as for some irregularity in the vessel’s papers. It therefore results that correct papers will cover almost any amount of slave-trading. So long as the boilers, provisions and planking for decks and other proofs of slave-trading are inserted in the manifest, so long is the vessel protected from detention by American men-of-war, and, of course, by British cruisers. . . .

“It is almost unnecessary to revert to the many instances of American slavers leaving ports in the United States fully fitted for the Slave Trade. New Orleans, being a seaport of slaving celebrity, may be expected to take a leading hand in such expeditions, but I cannot help feeling surprised that New York should be, this year, one of the greatest slave-trading ports.

“When such houses as Cunha Reis, etc., of New York are acquiring thousands by a successful traffic in blood, we may well question the efficiency of the American laws to suppress so unnatural a traffic, and the Treaty with Great Britain becomes a mockery.”

¹ Frightful cruelties went unpunished in the South. On July 4, 1860, e.g., a man whipped his woman slave for three hours on and off. Then she died—and was buried ten inches deep. The same year a man was deliberately whipped to death by a mob simply for saying he thought slavery wrong. His body was not even buried—it was thrown away and eaten by hogs and bustards. (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 1859-1861.)

The Commodore goes on to point out that the immense increase in the trade was due: (1) to the ease with which the law was evaded and the impossibility of securing convictions; (2) to the facilities offered at New York and other ports; (3) to the absence of American men-of-war, the only one supposed to be engaged in suppressing the trade being a sailing ship only present for a few months of the year, and then generally kept at anchor at Loanda;¹ (4) to the fact that the whole British squadron have no legal power in any way to molest American slavers; (5) to the never-ending demand for slaves in Cuba, where the price usually averaged thirty times that paid in Africa.² After a description of the horrors of the march to the coast (already quoted, p. 130), he goes on: "Such, Sir, is the Slave Trade under the American flag. Unmolested by their country's laws and cruisers, not permitted to be interfered with by H.M.'s vessels, they successfully follow their hellish pursuits, sacrificing to their idol, gold, the lives of many thousands of poor, harmless, defenceless wretches."³

In 1859 H.M. Acting Consul at Loanda, Mr Edmund Gabriel, wrote in an official dispatch that the Traffic under the flag of the United States was prosecuted to an amazing extent and with greater impunity than ever, "no less than seven vessels wearing that flag and employed in the Trade having been met by H.M.'s cruisers on this division of the station within the last two months." It was largely because our Navy was so busily engaged in an endeavour to suppress the West Coast trade to the West Indies, especially Cuba, that the East Coast was so neglected. The ships concerned on the West Coast were almost entirely American, for American ships enjoyed special immunity owing to an outcry raised in 1858 about parties from our cruisers boarding ships sailing under

¹ In Angola, on the West Coast.

² "The Spanish Government . . . do allow their officials—and more especially the planters in the Island of Cuba . . . to derive enormous profits, as much as 70, 80 and 100 per cent, from this horrible traffic; and this by the protection given by the American flag."—Lord John Russell.

³ Parliamentary Papers, 1860. Commodore Wise to Rear-Admiral Grey, July 20, 1857.

that flag. Early in 1861, the United States Navy captured three American slavers, one with as many as nine hundred slaves on board.

"During eight months thirteen out of seventeen vessels known to have escaped with 12,000 slaves carried American colours. It is evident that the slave traders are daily more and more presuming upon the perfect security afforded them in carrying on their iniquitous operations by the adoption of the U.S. flag. Slave vessels protected by that flag are continually making successful voyages . . . and experience has now shown that unless some energetic and effective measures can be adopted to correct this evil, all the sacrifices made by Great Britain for the suppression of this traffic must be rendered nugatory."¹

Official correspondence with the U.S.A. brings to light the astonishing fact that the American Cruiser *Nightingale* had been equipped for slave traffic in 1861 in Liverpool! She remained there about eight weeks being fitted out with little attempt at concealment, so that it got to be common talk that she was being prepared for a slave voyage.²

On the East Coast however it was commoner to find American slave ships sailing under Spanish colours. In one of his earlier dispatches (1858) Rigby wrote, "Another large American ship, also under Spanish colours, shipped 1,200 slaves for conveyance to Cuba from the ports of Mozambique," and again (1859), "I have received authentic information that a large American ship under Spanish colours shipped 1,200 negroes for conveyance to Cuba from a bay a few miles to the south of Eboo."³

In August 1860 Rigby reported the capture by H.M.S. *Brisk* near Johanna of a large American ship with 846 slaves on board.

Brigadier Coghlan wrote in a Report dated Aden, November 1, 1860:—

"I believe that until within the last three months no slaver has been captured on the East Coast for the last six years, and the impression has become general that the traffic on that side may be

¹ Edmund Gabriel.

² A witness at the trial.

³ See above, chapter ix, p. 149

carried on with perfect safety. An American merchant who had resided long at Zanzibar published his opinion to that effect in one of the United States journals."¹

H.M.'s Commissary Judge at Havana reported February 1861 that so far from the trade "having become odious in the opinion of the public, there are more persons, even of capital and influence, engaged in it than ever."

And now, that we may realize England's guilt, let us consider what happened at Zanzibar after Rigby's departure. What suffering, what trouble might have been averted had there been but a little of our modern medical knowledge of tropical hygiene and tropical diseases—had it been possible for his health to have been so preserved as to allow him but one or two years more to consolidate his work!²

¹ See also Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*. After the Treaty of 1845 the legal proceedings in which Naval officers might become involved after making a capture, and later the Crimean War, led to a relaxation of vigilance.

² Sir Bartle Frere (Evidence, 1871) spoke of "the extremely trying climate," and said, "The position [H.B.M. Consul at Zanzibar] is one which wears out men very fast; they are ill-paid, and they are almost without subordinate assistance."

CHAPTER XIII

THE EAST COAST SLAVE TRADE AFTER 1861

SOME extracts from Cope Devereux's *The Cruise of the "Gorgon"* form a fitting introduction to this chapter.

"We are rather struck with the increase of dhow trade. Almost hourly these primitive vessels arrive with crowded cargoes of slaves, crossing our bows with the greatest impunity. We once more visit the slave market, and there find fresh vigour; the traffic seems to have gained new life since our last visit. . . . The market is full; fierce Arabs, Turks and Abyssinians are busy with their bargains. . . . They are far dearer than ever, and more bought and sold. The purchasers are continually walking off with files of blacks, no doubt taken to the general depot, whence they will be carried northward in the dreadful dhows.

"And why this fresh impetus? Our new Consul has arrived, and advantage is taken of his inexperience. His predecessor (Colonel Rigby) was a man who thoroughly understood the Arab character, could speak their language fluently, was up to all their intrigues and dodges, and knew all the languages along the coast. Altogether the right man in the right place. He had emancipated 8,000 human beings with his own hand and was loved by the respectable part of the community of Zanzibar, feared and hated by the slave dealers, who vowed to deprive him of his valuable life, but they lacked the courage to do it. The gallant old¹ Colonel cared not a straw for their cowardly threats, but took his morning and evening walks with only a clear conscience and a trusty revolver. He peeped into the dwellings of the emancipated negroes, and was blessed by their occupants. His heart and soul revolted at the barbarity and cruelty of the slave trade, and strove to abolish it. He assisted us with all his great energies, lent us his informers, put us on the scent of the slave dhows, and gave us the benefit of his vast experience of Arab character, all for the same end. He compelled the Sultan to respect treaties and exercise humanity. The consequence of the aid he rendered was that we captured eighteen dhows, and entirely stopped the northern slave trade.² So efficient was our blockade of the slave

¹ He was forty-one when he left Zanzibar in 1861.

² Captain Playfair, then Assistant Political Resident at Aden, reported to Bombay, April 17, 1861, "I believe that the slave trade has been entirely stopped during the past season." (India Office, Secret Dept.)

ports that not a single cargo of the persecuted creatures passed northward this season. . . .

"But a new Consul arrives, and the Arabs see their pet trade invigorated. They see a profitable future big with dollars, concubines and slaves, European luxuries, and an era of sensual dissipation, and they laugh at us." (Pp. 156, 157.)

"The Island of Zanzibar . . . would produce almost anything, but I believe it is willed that the slave-dealing propensity of its people shall be their destruction. The accursed traffic has absorbed all their energy; and they deserve to perish, even were it alone for the misery which they have and do entail on at least 50,000 of their fellow-creatures yearly.

"Previous to this year the *Lyra*,¹ *Gorgon* and *Ariel* had almost stopped the traffic, and had established a wholesome dread of us on the coast; but in one season this work has been all undone."² (Pp. 342, 343.)

"During the months of August, September and October [1863] upwards of thirty dhows carried slaves to Lamoo, and the other ports between it and Zanzibar, each carrying about 160 slaves; and in November last slave dhows were running at the rate of a dhow every three or four days.

"While lying at Zanzibar we saw a gang of about 180 slaves, chained together, marched along the beach to some dhow waiting in some out-of-the-way creek to embark them." (P. 369.)

How was this? How could the Government, with its eyes once opened, its hand laid on the plough by Rigby, turn back and allow any weakening of the policy to which he had committed it?

An answer may be found in the Evidence given before the "Select Committee appointed to inquire into the whole question of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, into the increased and increasing amount of that Traffic, the Par-

¹ Captain R. B. Oldfield and officers of H.M.S. *Lyra* presented my Father with a silver goblet "as a mark of regard for his kindness and attention to them while stationed on the East Coast of Africa, and his able assistance in suppressing the piratical Slave Trade carried on by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf in March and April 1861," as the inscription upon it runs.

² Cope Devereux gave a little glimpse of the Consul's habits: "We paid a visit to Colonel Rigby's garden; a little plot of ground covered with wild shrubs; once the favourite resort of the old Colonel, who found pleasure in leaving the dirty town and its people for a while, and burying himself in these shady solitudes."

ticulars of existing Treaties and Agreements with the Sultan of Zanzibar upon the subject, and the possibility of putting an end entirely to the Traffic in Slaves by Sea," dated August 1871.

Sir Bartle Frere decisively laid the blame at the door of public opinion, saying that the cardinal evil which we had to deal with was its oscillation in the matter. Up to about the time when Lord Palmerston died, the whole weight of Government influence had been put on the side of suppression, but of late years there had been considerable wavering of opinion. One now saw, he said, in public writings a good deal of a kind of excuse for slavery which certainly would not have been put forward some years earlier. And our Government, representing public opinion, had become very half-hearted.¹

The Sultan must have been highly gratified when his expectations were fulfilled and a tiresome person with a bee in his bonnet was replaced by a far more complaisant Consul in the person of Pelly, and he in turn by Playfair (July 1863). He successfully convinced the latter of his good will, when on January 1, 1864, he prohibited the transport of slaves in boats during the monsoon (January 1st to May 1st) and the renting of houses to northern Arabs. Playfair wrote in that year, "I am convinced His Highness could not take any more decided steps at present to abolish the Slave Trade without imminent danger to his throne and perhaps to his life."² His orders were peremptory that no slaves should be embarked "irregularly" [this word of course might cover anything—L.M.R.] at any of his ports, but he was afraid to interfere with vessels under the French flag "as on the smallest, or without any, provocation the Consul of that nation—threatens to haul down his flag

¹ In 1862 there had been enough public feeling for a "Monster Meeting" to be held at the London Tavern, with Lord Brougham in the chair, to protest against the trade to Cuba. Rigby was present, and formed one of a deputation to Lord Palmerston to present the Memorial adopted at the Meeting. (See *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 10-12.)

² India Office, Pol. Dept. MSS. 1/5 of 1864.

and menaces him with the wrath of the Emperor.”¹ It was not surprising that the following year Playfair had to report that the trade had been carried on to a great extent and almost entirely unchecked.² He reported the capture of a dhow which had surreptitiously embarked fifty-seven slaves, many of them kidnapped from people of the town, and was just starting for Arabia. “His Highness freed five of the most promising children, and sent them to be educated at Bishop Tozer’s Mission; the remainder he confiscated, and the dhow was taken opposite my windows and burnt.”³ How Majid, with fifty slaves obtained gratis, must have chuckled at the success with which he threw such sops to Cerberus! The Bishop describes him as “a very pleasing young man.”

Playfair on May 30th wrote from the Seychelles, whither he had gone on sick leave:—

“... for years past so many slaves have not been exported from Zanzibar as during the last few months.

“From what I have stated it is evident that our operations during all the years over which they have extended have had no appreciable effect in stopping the slave trade, and from the experience I have gained at Zanzibar, I have no hesitation in saying that nothing we can do will ever stop it. . . .⁴

“The whole fabric of Arab society is so interwoven with slavery, and the manners and customs of that race are so unchangeable, that it is hopeless to expect that they will ever permanently abandon their pursuit of slaves. . . .

“There is one thing to be said in favour of slavery among Arabs, and that is that no class of the community is so happy, so free from care, and so well treated as the Mahommedan slave; nine out of ten would hardly regard freedom as a boon, and, but for our intervention, which compels slavers to resort to all kinds of expedients to procure cargoes, the sufferings of the slaves *after* their arrival on the coast would be hardly appreciable.

“I believe Majid is personally sincerely anxious to prevent the importation of slaves, but he meets with no assistance from those

¹ India Office, Pol. Dept. MSS. 21/62 of 1865.

² India Office, Pol. Dept. MSS. 19/57 of 1865.

³ India Office, Foreign Dept., Political, no. 105.

⁴ Cf. his report in April 1861. Footnote p. 200.

around him, and he is really powerless, as things stand at present, to effect any good."¹

This feeble, hopeless pessimism could of course achieve nothing. The writer is plainly quite prepared to tolerate the trade. The Rev. Horace Waller in an article in *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* truly said:—

"The petty potentates who thus laugh in their sleeves while we stumble about with the red tape of old treaties entangling our feet, are quick enough to see the importance given them by the presence of our consular and political authorities, and the position becomes positively ludicrous when these very representatives, placed there to aid in the suppression of this abominable traffic, have to take up their residence within a stone's throw of the largest slave market in the world."

(Mr Henry A. Churchill, then Consul, said in his evidence before the Committee of 1871:—

"In General Rigby's time, when he was Political Agent at Zanzibar, he deprived the whole of the Kutchees [British-protected subjects] and every Indian subject of the slaves they held, but he was succeeded by Colonel Pelly and Colonel Playfair, who made a difference between British-protected and British subjects. They represented their manner of thinking to the Government of Bombay, and the Government adopted their views;² since that time the Kutchees have been enabled to buy slaves, having placed themselves under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar; in fact they were told that they would enjoy the same privileges as the Arabs themselves."

A dispatch from Earl Russell in March 1864 had stated that our Government did not claim the right to interfere in the matter of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the *bona fide* transport of slaves from one part of the dominions to another.

Naturally the result of such an attitude on the part of both British and Indian Governments at a time when firmness, in view of the truculence of the Sultan revealed in Rigby's last dispatches, was particularly necessary, was deplorable. Both

¹ India Office, Political, vol. 78, no. 126.

² Cf. the dispatch to Rigby, November 30, 1860, in which the Government of Bombay conveyed to him full approval and warm commendation of his humane exertions. See p. 147.

Majid, and Burghash after him, took an insolent line, and took it with impunity. And the trade increased.

Dr Seward, who was Acting Consul 1865-1867, wrote of the huge numbers of Africans poured through the place ostensibly only for its domestic purposes. By now Englishmen had erected large factories and planted estates with sugar-cane, and all their workers were slaves! The Doctor hoped the Government would not continue to tolerate such a scandal, and suggested the relegation to Zanzibar as free labourers of slaves captured at sea. There was, he argued, no reason why free labour might not be as cheap and as manageable as slave labour. He went on:—

“I do not use the word free in the sense that the freedom we have given is to bear no fruit of obligation. Unless by a benevolent compulsion these freed folk are taught to labour, they probably will not, and it will be essential to the proper working of the measure that a large control, under consular supervision, be given to the planter, and that an obligation be laid upon the quondam slave to discharge certain duties for a certain time as the price of his liberty and civil rights and in return for adequate wages, quarters, food, clothing and medical care.”¹

“Benevolent compulsion” in a place like the Island of Zanzibar? The dispatch may be full of what is called common sense, but it is singularly reminiscent of the *libres engagés* system. Rigby never compromised with Freedom in this way, and no complaint of laziness or other trouble ever seems to have arisen in connection with the slaves to whom he gave it unconditioned. When 711 slaves working for an English firm were liberated by the Sultan at Churchill’s instigation, Seward went the length of suggesting to the Government that the Queen should be moved “to some gracious acknowledgment, some marked sign of Her high appreciation of a deed as laudable as it is unparalleled in Eastern annals.”²

In answer to an inquiry from the Bombay Government as

¹ India Office MSS. no. 172/61 of 1866.

² India Office MSS. no. 85/6 of 1867.

to whether the steps taken by Colonel Rigby in respect of slaves held by British-Indian subjects had proved effective to prevent a continuance of the abuse of British laws, Churchill on taking up his duties as Consul (December 1867) had replied¹ that he had learnt that the Indians were now again the possessors of upwards of 1,200 slaves. He took a weak line. He told the Sultan it was important this state of things should cease, but "from his evasive reply felt he was not over-anxious to discuss the matter," and as he wished to read up the instructions he "was not sorry to put off for a while the discussion." He learnt from perusal of the instructions,

"1st. That up to Colonel Rigby's departure no native of India had dared to possess a slave, after the sweeping emancipation prosecuted by that energetic officer.

"2nd. That Colonel Rigby had received the approval of Government in all his proceedings with regard to the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves above alluded to.

"3rd. That it was after Colonel Rigby's departure that natives of India were allowed to place themselves under the Sultan's protection."

He found that Indians had purchased many slaves within the last five or six years, and were inducing their countrymen under British protection to reap the advantages of slave labour through their instrumentality. In several cases, Banians under British protection accused of holding slaves had to be dismissed by the Consular Court when it was asserted that the slaves in question belonged to a brother or uncle under the Sultan's protection. It soon became obviously fruitless for slaves to complain at the Consulate. The Sultan argued that "had not Mr Churchill's predecessors allowed it, no native of India would be holding slaves in his dominions, but having been told that Kutchees and other subjects of British-protected States in India might be looked upon in the same light as his Arab subjects, he had allowed them to purchase slaves, and that it was not fair to punish them for having innocently done what they did not know to be wrong." On this Churchill

¹ India Office, vol. 48, p. 123.

comments, "This argument I thought a fair one, for although I have never seen the document by which Colonel Pelly or Colonel Playfair authorized the natives of India under the Sultan's protection to possess slaves, they may, by the policy of non-interference adopted by these officers,¹ have led them and the Sultan to infer that H.M.'s Consul would not take cognizance of anything they did; and bearing in view the general and more important question of humouring His Highness in matters of comparatively minor importance, I made known to Seyd Majid my readiness to refer the matter to His Excellency the Governor in Council." So for Churchill too, inhumanity and injustice, the sufferings of his *black* fellow-creatures were a matter of comparatively minor importance, and the really important thing to humour a contemptible debauchee like Majid.

His figures for the number of slaves exported from Keelwa were as follows:—²

"1862-1863	18,500
"1863-1864	17,500
"1864-1865	16,821
"1865-1866	22,344
"1866-1867	22,038"

As only about two-thirds of the slaves brought from the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa were destined for Zanzibar, the actual number collected was nearly 30,000 per annum.³

He stated that a slave worth five dollars in Keelwa was worth fifty or sixty in Oman. In 1869 when, in spite of protests from the Sultan, he was about to restrict the Kutchees' dealings in slaves, he received a letter from the Government informing him that it was unnecessary to interfere with any existing

¹ When slaves on a dhow were captured by H.M.S. *Penguin*, and the Sultan "did not deem it expedient to free them," but proposed confiscating them, Playfair referred the case for the consideration of Government and took no action. (India Office MSS. 18/40 of 1864.)

² India Office, no. 3/80 of 1868.

³ India Office, no. 163 of 1868, no. 31.

arrangements by which domestic slaves were actually possessed by Kutchees for household purposes. He concluded he had overstepped the limits of his powers, and practically "climbed down" to the Sultan.¹

Rigby had put a stop to the Indians holding slaves on the ground that in their own country it would not be allowed, for it would have been prohibited by the British, and it was not right that the subjects of those very States on going to Zanzibar should be permitted to hold slaves as they could not in the native States of India.² But the Bombay Government after his departure took the line that it had no right to interfere with subjects of the Rao of Kutch, in spite of the fact that he had made no complaint. A Foreign Office minute dated September 27, 1868, runs:—

"Colonel Rigby released every slave belonging to both our Indian and protected subjects to the number of between four and five thousand, and his conduct was approved by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The result was that for a time a check was put upon the Slave Traffic. Since Colonel Rigby's departure, the greater portion of our Indian subjects who owned or trafficked in slaves have abjured British protection, and the Sultan of Zanzibar claims to protect them in their dealings with slaves. The Indian Government, I believe, did not look favourably upon Colonel Rigby's proceedings.³ . . . But unless we do take strong measures for preventing our subjects, and the subjects of any territories protected by us from engaging in the Traffic in Slaves, how can we insist upon the Sultan of Zanzibar prohibiting his subjects from engaging in the traffic? If it is the wish of H.M.'s Government to put a stop to the Slave Traffic on the East Coast of Africa, this question must be grappled with. I have no hesitation in stating that we *can* suppress the Slave Traffic on the East Coast within a few years *if we choose to do so*,⁴

¹ India Office, no. 6 of 1869.

² See further his memorandum on the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, Appendix vi.

³ Yet officially had "fully approved" them, as we have seen (end of chapter viii).

⁴ The italics are mine—L. M. R.

The dispatches and minutes may be found, along with other Foreign Office correspondence quoted, in the Public Records Office.

but I have very great doubts whether it will be put a stop to if left in the hands of the Indian Government to deal with."

A higher official minuted, "This must wait. I cannot settle it here."

The opinion of the Committee of 1871 was that as Kutchees had held slaves with the implied sanction of the British authorities since 1862, they should be given a reasonable time, say three years, to prepare, but if at the expiry of the period determined any Kutchee should be found holding slaves, they should be immediately emancipated and the owner punished. No acquisition of fresh slaves to be permitted meanwhile.

In 1868 Livingstone wrote to the Earl of Clarendon:—

"The Island of Zanzibar is now about the only spot in the world where from 100 to 300 slaves are daily exposed for sale in open market . . . and on the adjacent seas the slave trade, which everywhere else is declared to be a grievous offence against public law, is by treaty allowed to be a legal traffic.

"Whatever the motive for legalizing the slave trade on the seas adjacent to Zanzibar may have been, the actual purchasers before my eyes were northern Arabs and Persians, whose dhows lay anchored in the harbour or beached for repairs in the creek; and on the strength of the exception in our treaty, virtually made in their favour, these men were daily at their occupation, examining the teeth, limbs and gait of the slaves that were to form their cargoes as openly as horse-dealers engage in their business in England. . . .

"The reasons assigned for the continuance of this very unsatisfactory state of affairs derive their force and speciousness partly from political considerations. . . . It must never be left out of view for a moment that Syed Majid is the creature of English power alone . . . we interfered, and by our arms gave effect to a will which apportioned Zanzibar to the younger brother. . . .

"It certainly never was contemplated by either of the contracting parties that a special stipulation . . . should be made the means of erecting the island of Zanzibar into a great slave emporium and extending the ocean slave-trade to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf."

The cruelties perpetrated by the dealers on the road to the coast were as hideous as ever, as may be seen in *The Last Journals of David Livingstone from 1865 to his Death*. He narrates, for instance, how on finding a dead woman tied to

a tree it was explained to him that she had been unable to keep up with the others in the gang, so her master had killed her to prevent her becoming the property of another if she recovered after a rest.

^ In 1869 the Rao of Kutch placed all his subjects abroad under British jurisdiction, and warned them against slave-dealing. From the archives of the same year we learn that by this time there were even WHITE slaves, women and boys from Georgia, Turkey, etc., in the Sultan's own family. They were very valuable, worth from 500 to 1,000 dollars apiece. Majid, addicted to the vilest vices himself, defended their presence. The daughter of one of the chief members of the family brought back a fine collection of such slaves from her pilgrimage to Mecca.¹

In 1871 the Select Committee of Inquiry reported how the Treaties allowed the Sultan to transport slaves between Keelwa and Lamoo, a distance of over 350 miles, from May 1st to the end of the year, and commented:—

“The throne of the Sultan of Zanzibar! Is it necessary to sustain this that 20,000 or 30,000 slaves should annually be made, and five times that number of lives should be lost, to maintain it?”

When Rigby gave evidence before the Committee (July 20, 1871), he was asked by the Chairman whether he thought the trade could be prevented by active exertions on the part of our cruisers, and replied decisively:—

“I have not the slightest doubt that within five years it could be entirely stopped, but to stop it we want what we have never yet had, viz. system. One year you get an active officer on the coast, who enters into the spirit of the thing, and checks the trade a good deal; then he goes away, and another man comes with quite different opinions; or you get a captain of a cruiser who takes the advice of the Consul and pulls with him, and he does a great deal of good, and then, perhaps, just as he has become acquainted with the secrets of the trade and begins to know where the slaves are shipped, and

¹ India Office, 20/92 of 1869.

where the dhows put in for water, and can distinguish between a legitimate trader and a slave dhow, which it takes a long time to do, he is ordered away and never comes back again. . . . I think the Zanzibar Arabs are now fully aware that the trade will be stopped, and their ideas are very different now as to their own interests to what they were a few years ago. The late Sultan sent his brother-in-law and a cousin on a mission to the Queen two years ago, and at the Sultan's particular request I was appointed to take charge of the mission. The person who acted as Secretary is now the Minister to the present Sultan, Saiyid Burghash, and in talking with him daily on the subject, he said that the Arabs are now beginning to find out that the English are quite right, that there is far more money to be made by keeping the labourers in the country and cultivating the rich valleys by their labour than by selling them out of the country. . . . We might well say to the Sultan, We have left it to you to act up to the Treaties and to abolish this horrible man-stealing; you have not done it. We do not say you are wilfully and knowingly keeping up this slave trade, but it has been, chiefly through the instrumentality of the English Government, suppressed in every other country in the world, and we will no longer allow you Arabs to be an exception. . . . I often said to the Sultan, You Arabs come down here because you find a very pleasant and fertile country preferable to your own barren deserts, but that does not give you any right to depopulate half Africa and to go and steal the population and sell them." . . . "I think there could be no more favourable occasion for proposing a new treaty than the present. We are under no obligations to Saiyid Burghash. It may be said that he is under obligations to us, for I sent him under British protection to Bombay. He certainly was kept there as a State prisoner, but he was well treated, and probably by his being sent there I saved his life. The Arabs now see that slavery is abolished throughout the U.S.A.; the Portuguese, their own nearest neighbours, who carried it on in a most shameful and cruel way, have abolished it now by law, and I think we might very well say to the Sultan, as Lord Palmerston says here,¹ 'Great Britain is the instrument of Providence, and it is written in the Book of Fate that the slave trade shall stop.'

" . . . The best course to adopt would be to induce all the foreign nations that have Consuls at Zanzibar to join our Government in putting down the trade. . . . The Sultan's profits on slaves compared with his other means are the merest trifle. . . . He is not in the slightest degree dependent on the sum received from slaves. . . .

¹ Referring to his dispatch to Colonel Hamerton (see p. 187).

The proper course is for Government to stop the trade with a high hand at once—by a squadron. I do not think that the squadron need be very strong; but it would be ineffective without an experienced naval officer, an officer whose heart would be in the work. . . .

“In dealing with the chiefs in Arabia and Persia, I should send an English man-of-war round with proclamations in Arabic, which I would have read out by the sheikhs and elders of the tribes, giving them distinct notice that after a certain date the provisions of our treaties declaring the slave trade piracy would be rigidly enforced, and that the commander of every slave dhow found with slaves on board would be hanged. One vessel should watch the entrance to the Red Sea, one the Persian Gulf, and one cruise off Socotra.”

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, reviewing the report of the Committee, observes that “the just and wise policy carried out by General Rigby was reversed by his successors.”

At a public meeting in the Friends’ Meeting House in 1872, the Rev. Horace Waller, former companion of Livingstone, in a long speech stated that “General Rigby did more against the slave trade than any man of the present generation,” whilst Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton on the same occasion referred to his work in suppressing the Burghash Rebellion. Waller narrated how when Rigby was at Suez on his way back from India, he found to his horror the water tanks which brought fresh water from Cairo filled with slave boys for the return journey. It is easy to imagine the torture of crossing the desert in an iron tank.

In the same year (October 1st) there was a public meeting at the Mansion House, with Frere, Buxton, etc., present. Rigby described the horrors of the trade at some length and attributed its present flourishing state to the apathy of the Admiralty and the Treasury. He seconded a resolution that the Senate of the Free City of Hamburg be invited to urge on the German Government the importance of active co-operation in the cause of suppression.

It was in the same year again that a translation appeared of Étienne Félix Berlioux’s book *La Traite Orientale* (1870),

with its scathing indictment of British policy and British hypocrisy. Even Livingstone was not spared—

“trop anglais dans ses projets.¹ Il faut le reconnaître,” he says, “aucun peuple n’a apporté autant de zèle et autant de persévérance pour arriver à détruire ce honteux trafic. Mais dans tout ce qu’ils font, les Anglais sont toujours Anglais, c’est à dire toujours fiers et intéressés, ou soupçonnés d’être intéressés. Voilà pourquoi ils excitent des préventions, même lorsqu’ils poursuivent un but honnête et humain, et ces préventions compromettent souvent le résultat, parcequ’elles amènent le refus avoué ou tacite d’un concours indispensable.”²

From Joseph Cooper’s translation the following passages are worth quotation here:—

“The error of Europe in this respect is one of the strangest and most difficult to explain; but the part taken by England, in one respect, is still more extraordinary. This Power, which was so zealous against the Western slave trade, made a terrible mistake when she sanctioned it in the East. . . . That which England would have indignantly refused to the United States and to Spain, she formally granted to the Sultan of Zanzibar; which concession has had the most disastrous results.

“But what we cannot comprehend is, that such infamous proceedings should not only be tolerated, but officially recognized by England, which has spent such vast sums to put down the slave trade. When we see this species of authorization given by Great Britain herself, the astonishment is redoubled, and one does not know how to reconcile such a contradiction. It is not only an inconsistency, but a crime, for which the English Government is responsible at once to her own people and to the world.

“If any nation of Europe or America had claimed such a privilege,

¹ Among them, British occupation of the valley of the Zambesi. “Aussi, comme si ses idées anglaises obscurcissent son jugement, nous le voyons faire un beau sophisme en parlant des précieux avantages de cette colonie. Le climat énervant de ces régions tropicales serait, d’après lui, d’une salubre application sur les convicts dont le caractère indompté a troublé le vieux monde. Et il va après cela nous parler des coquinerie des colons portugais!”

² The Bishop of Winchester quoted Berlioux in the House of Lords (July 23, 1872) as charging the English people with want of honesty in their efforts to put down the trade, asserting that we wished to maintain it as an excuse for keeping a certain force on that coast in order to keep down French influence there.

the English nation would have been indignant, and yet for a long time treaties signed by British Agents with the princes of Zanzibar have formally authorized the slave trade.

"When the princes of Zanzibar have by British treaties the right of purchasing negroes, how can it be proved to other chiefs that this trade is immoral? The conduct of the English not only gives opportunity for crime; it is the solemn sanction of it.

"Such conduct can only be explained by a double error. In the first place the English nation is in fault for having ignored, until now, what was passing on the east coast, and for having paid so little attention to these treaties. In the next place it was the fault of the Government which connected itself with the Prince of Zanzibar, partly to prepare the way for civilization, but also in order to combat the influence of France in the Indian Ocean. A political explanation has also been attempted on the ground that it was to some extent only a domestic institution, and that it would not interfere with a sovereign State.

"This absence of moral principle unfortunately reappeared in the official propositions of certain English Agents in 1870 and 1871. Regarding the question from a political and narrow point of view, rather than from a moral standpoint, these counsellors did not recommend the suppression of the traffic, but simply its regulation at present."

Further to show what impression perfidious Albion was making abroad:—On January 1, 1873, M. Victor Schaelcher, speaking on the East African Slave Trade in the National Assembly of France, said,

"Unhappily Great Britain has a Treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar which binds her to tolerate this commerce. It is astounding how the Government of a country which produced a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, a Buxton and others, who have brought glory upon England by their efforts to abolish slavery, should have concluded such a treaty."¹

Sir Bartle Frere was sent to Zanzibar as a Special Envoy, and in June 1873 Burghash signed a fresh Treaty, followed by a supplementary one a year later when he was in London.

¹ There were Spaniards also alive to the evil. On June 20, 1870, Señor Castelar made a long, moving, impassioned speech in the Cortes. (See *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*.)

Frere's biographer, John Martineau, says the Treaty "gave the death-blow to the traffic by sea."¹ But a year later the Rev. C. New declared that in the Treaty there was such an enormous gap that the slave dealers were driving their victims through it by thousands and laughing at us in their sleeves. And Frere himself stated to the Anti-Slavery Society in 1876 that the annual drain of human lives was still estimated at a million, and that it was almost certain that in that very year the sacrifice of life was as large as during any period of modern history. And the remedy, he said, was for the Government to lay aside its tenderness for vested interests in slavery, and absolutely refuse to recognize such a status at all. It certainly did seem throughout these years as if public opinion and the Government thought it a worse thing to deprive a brown man of a slave for which he had paid his money than to torture and murder a dozen black ones in his interest, for in this country crimes against property are almost invariably regarded as far more serious than crimes against the person. In 1873 at a public meeting in Exeter Hall with Lord Stratheden in the Chair, Frere pointed out how a short time after Rigby had made the Banians give up their slaves, the dissatisfaction had died down and legitimate trade had prospered as never before. In this year (1873) the holding of slaves by Indians was again, and this time finally, stopped by Dr (afterwards Sir John) Kirk the Consul, and nine years later these people expressed to him their thanks for his putting an end to it, as this had proved to be the means of turning capital into legitimate channels and had opened up many new sources of wealth.

In 1875 Kirk optimistically reported that the Treaty had proved most efficient in stopping the sea transport of slaves, that the chief dealers were bankrupt and the foreign traffic at an end. But the inland traffic was giving trouble, and the utmost vigilance was still necessary.² But Rear-Admiral Cumming wrote to the Admiralty that he had been told the Arabs

¹ *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. ii (1895).

² *Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, vol. 70.

were grateful to the English for having forced them to transport their slaves by land, as they found this less expensive than the sea passage. He demurred, as Rigby must have done, to Kirk's suggestion "that slaves who started for the coast before the Treaty was signed should be permitted to be 'worked off.'"¹ It is clear that such a suggestion could only come from one who did not regard negroes as altogether men and women, but rather as a species of human cattle.

The land route was responsible for increased mortality, and the numbers of slaves passing through Keelwa failed to diminish, owing to the great demand that had arisen in the Island of Pemba.²

In April 1876 the Sultan issued proclamations prohibiting the conveyance of slaves by land under any conditions; the arrival of slave caravans from the interior; and the fitting-out of slave-hunting expeditions by his subjects.³

In the same year there was a Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves, before which Rigby gave evidence at length. Incidentally he condemned the new practice of making a distinction between "domestic" and other slaves, this being a mere quibble.

But in spite of Royal Commissions, public meetings, untiring work on the part of all who had the cause at heart, nothing was done to end the actual trade in negroes. Public opinion remained half-hearted as before, just as in the present time it remains half-hearted with regard to the sufferings of animals. In 1893 the Rev. Horace Waller wrote in *Heligoland for Zanzibar* (Stanford, 1s.):—

"During all these weary years which have elapsed since first we frowned at Zanzibar as the great culprit . . . hardly a gleam of hope has broken in upon the slaves. There have been two exceptions to the rule, and we take note of them, if only to show the glaring contrast they afford. It will suffice here if one narrates what General Rigby did in the year 1860—a man in whom the slave found a true friend, and from whom just that influence radiated which is far too

¹ India Office, Reports from Naval Officers, no. 140.

² Kirk to the Earl of Derby, May 1876.

³ India Office, "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads," *India*, vol. xiii.

rare when it comes to having the right man to stand between oppressor and oppressed."

In 1890, says Waller,

"we are hand and glove with the slave dealers themselves. . . . I confidently affirm that the ferocious Arab half-caste who haunts Central Africa is perfectly justified in stating to all who will listen to him that the English are only too glad to use slaves when they can; and, I repeat, that it is but necessary for him to bid his hearers examine the next European caravan that passes through the country to establish the truth of his accusation."

Stanley¹ estimated that twenty thousand porters per month left the East Coast for the interior, employed by "the British, German and Congo States Administrations, the Roman Catholic Mission, the Church, the London and other religious missions, the Arabs with their caravans, European traders, Government Agents, agriculturists, tea and coffee planters, hunters and tourists," and Waller says Stanley might have added *quorum pars magna fui*. For Major Barttelot, one of his staff on the expedition to look for Emin Pasha, said Stanley left Zanzibar with 680 men, of whom no less than 450 perished during the expedition. Barttelot wrote of them, "Three-quarters of our men are slaves; when they get to Zanzibar, poor fellows, they only receive one-fourth of their money, the rest goes to their master."² *The Times* Correspondent wrote (December 12, 1892), "It is not possible to abolish this system owing to the fact of nearly all the porters being slaves."

To continue Horace Waller's account:—

"The mortality at times is very great. And the worst of it is that until a railway is constructed, this plan of collecting together large numbers of slaves and of encouraging their owners to first procure and then hire them out to English officers and civilians is bound to increase in direct ratio to our developments in Uganda."

Sir Gerald Portal, then Consul, complained to the Marquis of Salisbury in 1891 that not a caravan went into the interior

¹ *Morning Post*, November 16, 1893.

² *Life of G. M. Barttelot*, p. 242.

without a considerable number of Zanzibari porters recruited by either persuasion or force, a very large percentage of whom never returned. He instanced that in the previous June the Imperial British East Africa Company alone had in different parts of the interior about eight hundred Zanzibar porters, since which date their agents in Zanzibar had collected and sent to them five hundred more as well as collecting 222 for a private caravan. Whilst the agents of the Church Missionary Society had in the last two months collected for mission caravans some 350. Still larger numbers had left with German and Arab caravans, or been enlisted as soldiers in the German sphere. Added to which the Congo Free State had apparently begun to look upon Zanzibar as an inexhaustible recruiting-ground for coolies. A commission had even come from Natal to collect coolies. Not only, said Sir Gerald, were the plantations in the Island suffering severely, but the whole of Zanzibar was in danger of being depopulated unless a complete stop were put to the system, whilst all efforts to suppress the slave trade were vitiated through the Arab landowners being put to such straits for labour that they were willing to give high prices and run considerable risks in order to secure new slaves. Lord Salisbury replied, and a decree was issued at once forbidding all recruitment or enlistment of soldiers, coolies and porters for service beyond His Highness's dominions. This proved perfectly useless. Waller goes on:—

“Allusion was made to the contrast which is afforded by our attitude towards the slavers in 1890 when we look back upon the determined steps taken by General Rigby in 1860 and compare the two administrations.”

The new decree had been issued on August 1st. On the 20th the Sultan rescinded one which allowed a slave to purchase his freedom, by enacting that if a slave brought money for the purpose, his master should not be forced to take it.

“There,” says Waller, “stands the slave all but free on the 1st of August 1890, and the bolts of his shackles clenched

both sides on the 20th. Alas for the days of General Rigby, gone past all recall!" Captain Lugard on his return from Uganda had meant to ransom his slave porters with part of their pay under the former edict, but the second prevented him from doing so. The German Baron von Sankt Paul, returning about the same time to the German Protectorate, actually could, and did, buy the freedom of all the slaves in his caravan. "So . . . in this year of grace we have to look to Germany for lessons in humanity towards slaves."

"In arguing to-day with those who are answerable mainly for our seriously compromised position, one is always met with the parrot-cry, 'What are you to do if you don't employ slaves?'"

"In itself the mere possibility of an Englishman framing his lips to this utterance at the end of the nineteenth century is a difficulty of no mean dimensions. It speaks for a long-continued process of conscience-blunting, which had its beginning when commercial enterprise began to busy itself with the East Coast of Africa. . . .

"The surprising thing is that at home we do not instinctively rise up against the employment of slaves by British subjects. Thirty years ago a Consul was broken, there and then, because he manipulated slave labour in precisely the same manner¹ and not far from Zanzibar. . . .

"... the greater part of 240,000 carriers per annum, slaves and nothing but slaves, working their lives out for British subjects . . . the heart fairly sinks in the presence of this apathy.

"When Sir Bartle Frere was pressed for an explanation of our tolerance, he boldly stated that as a nation we act like the pendulum—alternately touching the indignation point and then swinging into absolute indifference.

"The Arabs themselves appear to be amazed at our moderation. They openly admit that slavery is doomed, and are not above hinting that they find free labour pay better, and yet we will not stir."

The legal status of slavery came to an end in Zanzibar in 1897, and slavery was abolished on the mainland of East Africa in 1907.²

¹ This was an Englishman who was for a long time our Consul on the Island of Mohilla. He was a sugar-planter, and rather than give up his slaves gave up his Consulate.

² See *The Times*, East Africa Supplement, March 1928

CHAPTER XIV

EXPLORERS

THE period of Rigby's Consulate at Zanzibar was the period of the great African explorers, and some account of his relations with them must be given.

Though he worked under the Church Missionary Society, Dr J. Ludwig Krapf, the pioneer of all East African exploration, has been little remembered by the British. He and his wife were received at Zanzibar most cordially by the old Imam in 1844. The Imam gave him a passport and recommended him to all his governors and sheikhs as "a good man who wished to convert the world to God."¹ Frau Krapf and her baby died, and Herr J. Rebmann, whose name is constantly associated with Krapf's, joined him in 1846. To them was due the discovery of Kilimanjaro, for Baron von der Decken owed his information concerning the existence of these snowy peaks to them. "It is a pleasure to find that the wanderings of missionaries, solely in the pursuit of their calling, should have led them here, as it has so often done elsewhere, to be the first discoverers of new lands, and pioneers to more accurate research."² Speke said these two gave the spring to the whole opening of the question of East African exploration, and paid a tribute to their accuracy.³ Rigby appears to have been intimate with them on their visits to Zanzibar from their mission-station near Mombasa. Very soon after his arrival (September 1858) we find Rebmann and his wife dining at the Consulate, which they must have been gratified to find in occupation of a German scholar. Rebmann on this occasion told him that he had been to the foot of snowy mountains of which he estimated the height at twenty thousand feet. He

¹ Charles New, *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, 1874.

² Royal Geographical Society, 1858-1859, *Proceedings*, vol. vi

³ Royal Geographical Society, 1864, *ibid.*, vol. viii.

described the scenery as extremely grand, but the natives from superstitious fears would not allow anyone to ascend to the snow. Of the route Burton had taken he said it was so safe that a lady might travel it without risk. A few days later Rebmann was down with chicken-pox, and Rigby sent him as medicine a dozen bottles of beer and port wine. He recovered.

Dr Krapf without doubt had Rigby in his mind when he ended his book (*Travels and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa*, 1860) with the words:—

“In Eastern Africa a very great deal depends on the consuls of foreign countries. If these are sagacious, energetic, heedful of the interests of the natives as well as those of their own countrymen, and, most important of all, if they are men of Christian disposition, the respect of the East African will go on increasing, and they will be ever more and more convinced that the Wasungu, Europeans, are really what the name implies, wise and capable people—‘not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.’”

On arrival at Cairo in August 1861 he had been anxious about the reception he and some fellow-missionaries newly recruited, two Swiss and some English, would find at Zanzibar.¹ He was cheered to learn that when the French Jesuits and Sisters arrived, Rigby had demanded the same rights and privileges on behalf of British subjects and they had been conceded.

The cause of Rebmann's long visit to Zanzibar during Rigby's Consulate was that the place where he lived, Rabai near Mombasa, was invaded by the warlike Masai, who periodically came down and plundered all the more peaceable tribes towards the coast. The Sultan would not permit his return while the country was disturbed, as protection would have been impossible. When he went back to his mission-station eighteen months later, he was surprised to find that the invaders had scrupulously respected it. Rigby suggested to the Royal Geographical Society that this demonstrated how

¹ Krapf's Swiss recruits proved a failure, and one of the Englishmen died.

easy it would be to make friends with the Masai and explore the country. It was in fact opened up shortly after by Joseph Thomson.¹

Dr Albrecht Roscher, a native of Hamburg, had published a treatise with maps on the trade routes of Central Africa.² Sent out by the King of Bavaria on a scientific mission, he arrived at Zanzibar in 1858, and was described by Rigby as "an enterprising young German traveller." They had many a country walk and excursion in the Consul's boat together, for preparations took a long time. He visited the mainland, and travelled alone on foot to the River Lufigi, never previously visited by a white man. After exploring its course for a considerable distance, he returned to Zanzibar, where he was detained by severe attacks of fever. All his efforts to procure porters there for his big journey were unavailing,³ and on June 24th he left for Keelwa without them. There he joined a caravan starting on August 24th. He was obliged to trust himself for transport to a slave dealer, who robbed him on the road, and finally left him destitute on the shores of Lake Nyassa, his objective, on November 29th. Owing to this man's infamous treatment he became so weak on the journey from sickness and starvation that he was carried on a cot all the latter part of it. In a letter to Rigby, dated January 1st and received January 29th, from Nussewa on the Lake, he narrated his adventures and spoke in high terms of the country through which he had travelled. Rigby arranged for supplies to be sent him from Keelwa, and got the Sultan to order the slave dealer to be arrested and sent in irons to Zanzibar. Roscher resided

¹ It was three or four years later, when I was a child of six or seven, that my Father introduced me to Thomson one morning at the Royal Geographical Society's rooms in Burlington Gardens, where he was busy arranging the ethnological collection he had brought back from Masailand. I remember him well, and still have the ivory bracelet and ear-ornament he gave me on this occasion.—L.M.R.

² *Ptolemaeus und die Handelsstrassen in Central-Afrika*. (Gotha, 1857.)

³ A writer in *Das Ausland* says his funds were quite insufficient. It is hard even now to realize how much expenditure pioneer work in Africa demands.

nearly four months at Nussewa prosecuting his scientific researches, and was treated with the greatest kindness by the Chief and his people. They brought him milk every morning, and gave him plenty of rice, fowls and fish, and occasionally meat, completely restoring his health. In March he left for the River Rovuma, about twelve days' journey. He evidently intended to return to the Lake, for he left nearly all his baggage in charge of the Chief at Nussewa, and was only accompanied by two servants, brothers, and a man and a woman as porters. On the third day they arrived at midday at a village called Kisoungoune, and the head-man invited the Doctor to his house. About 4 p.m. he was asleep in it, with one servant lying at the door while the other had gone some distance to fetch water. On his return he heard his brother shouting to him to be quick. He saw a number of men armed with bows and arrows in front of the house, and before he could reach him his brother was shot. Dr Roscher appeared at the door, and at once received one arrow in the breast and another in the throat. He died almost at once, while the murderers rushed in to plunder the house. The servant examined the bodies, and finding both past help ran away, wounded in the hand by an arrow. He returned at once to Nussewa, where the Chief gave him an escort to go to the Sultan of the country in which the murder was committed, four days' journey away. This potentate behaved admirably. He went to the scene of the crime himself with fifty followers, and arrested four men, whom he sent to Zanzibar with the servant and such property as he recovered, but unfortunately the murderers had destroyed Roscher's journal and drawings. The Chief at Nussewa also forwarded his property. There was no doubt that the only motive for the murder was cupidity. Poor Roscher had been too rash to travel in a savage country without a guard—which doubtless he could not afford. Rigby in his Report to the Indian Government dwells on the great kindness he had experienced from the chiefs and inhabitants in general. They had never before, he said, seen a white man, and Dr Roscher

was alone and without the means of making them any recompense. The Sultan showed noble feeling in going to seize the murderers at risk to himself, and Rigby suggested that as the Doctor was travelling under British protection it would show appreciation on the part of the Government if the two Chiefs were each presented with a few pieces of bright-coloured cotton or chintz, or a piece of broadcloth. He explained that he detailed the circumstances of Roscher's death at some length because it would be much regretted in Germany, great expectations having been justly formed from his scientific acquirements and his devotion to the cause of African exploration.¹

The murderers were publicly executed on August 23rd;² Speke and Grant were present.

At the time it was believed in Zanzibar that Roscher was the first white man to reach Lake Nyassa. Livingstone however anticipated him, at the southern end of the great Lake, by two months,³ and seems to have been considerably concerned at the reports of Rigby and Oldfield that Roscher was first. He gives an extract from Rigby's dispatch to this effect, commenting:—

"The reason of Colonel Rigby's mistake was that sufficient time had not elapsed for the news of our discovery of Nyassa to reach him at Zanzibar, nor was it then known that the lake Dr Roscher and we had both visited was one and the same. It does not in the least detract from the honour due to Dr Roscher for reaching the Lake by a path totally distinct from ours that others had preceded him in the discovery; but for the sake of accuracy it is necessary to produce the grounds on which the precedence in the exploration is claimed by the English."⁴

Baron von der Decken spent much time in Zanzibar before his last expedition. He frequently dined at the British Consulate

¹ Letter to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Bombay, dated Zanzibar, July 15, 1860.

² These events and Rigby's part in them are narrated in *Das Ausland*, 1861, p. 144.

³ See David and Charles Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1865, p. 123.

⁴ See also below Livingstone's letter to Rigby, December 8, 1864.

and there are several references in Rigby's diary to walks or boating expeditions together up to the time of his final start in the spring of 1861. He was born in 1833 in Brandenburg. His father fought in the British service at Waterloo, and afterwards held positions of importance at the Court of Hanover. He entered the Hanoverian Army as a Lieutenant in the Queen's Hussars at the age of seventeen. His first attempt at African exploration was during leave in 1858, and was frustrated by fever. He left the Army, and arrived at Zanzibar in July 1860 intending to join Roscher and undertake a journey in the interests of science to Lake Nyassa. He did follow Roscher after his murder in a vain attempt to recover his papers, but fell in with hostile natives and returned to Zanzibar, his plans changed owing to the reports he had received from Krapf and Rebmann of the existence of snow mountains, hitherto regarded as a myth. At Zanzibar he fell in with Mr Thornton, the geologist, who had recently thrown up his appointment with Livingstone, and took him as a companion. The Sultan as well as the British Consul gave him much hospitality and assistance in his preparations for the attempt on Kilimanjaro. He reached a height of fourteen thousand feet, and on his return to Europe in 1863 was rewarded with the Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. For his next journey all possible assistance was given him in both England and Zanzibar, and he organized a strong and well-selected party of Germans. But disaster befell the expedition and he and one of his companions were murdered. In February 1866 Colonel Rigby read to the Royal Geographical Society the report of the calamity sent by Lieutenant von Schick to Herr Schultz the German Consul, who at the time had temporary charge of the British Consulate. He then spoke at length of the Baron's researches and discoveries in Somaliland, a country which required the utmost courage to explore owing to the independent and warlike character of the inhabitants, especially the Gallas, an entirely different race to the Somalis, who regarded all strangers as enemies. The Baron, he pointed out, was the first European

to ascend the Great River Juba or Govinda, of whose history and geography Rigby then gave a long account.¹

In a dispatch to Bombay, he drew attention to the achievements of an "explorer," whose name seems largely forgotten, Said bin Habeeb, a Zanzibar Arab. He returned during his Consulate after an absence of sixteen years in the interior, during which period he three times visited Loanda, on the West Coast. Rigby believed him to be the first person to cross the continent in so high a latitude, and regretted that he had kept no journal of his travels. In reply to the Consul's questions, he stated that he had been treated everywhere with kindness, that the country was generally populous and well-cultivated, and that the inhabitants had abundance of copper and iron, and made much cotton cloth. He said that one district near Katanga was inhabited by a race of people with long hair and as light-coloured as Arabs. He confirmed the reports which had reached Zanzibar as to the depopulation of large districts in the interior by slave raiders, and said that he travelled for seventeen days through the rich Jhahow country without seeing any inhabitants, but only ruins of towns and villages.

Just as my Father left no account of his interview with the Emperor of Austria, or of his impressions of Queen Victoria when he visited Osborne, so he left on record of meetings with Livingstone. He left three letters from him among his papers, two written before they could have met. They are as follows:—

"Pioneer, off ROVUMA
"25th Feby., 1861

"Captain Rigby,
"H.M. Consul.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I take the liberty of sending some letters to your care—one from myself to Captain Speke and others for Captain Grant

¹ Royal Geographical Society, *Proceedings*, vol. x, pp. 9–99. The story of Baron von der Decken's travels was edited and published in 1869 by a member of his expedition, under the title, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859–1861*, 6 vols.

you will kindly forward if possible. Speke wrote to me when passing northwards, and in the most obliging manner sent me his journal, and I am anxious to let him know that his kindness was duly appreciated.

"As we are birds of a feather I may say that we are now in search of an opening to the interior of East Africa exterior to the Portuguese claims. We have to keep our plans quiet from that nation, but should we succeed in getting an approach to some point near the north end of Lake Nyassa, we shall then do as we like. We expect to be joined by Bishop Mackenzie in a day or two from H.M.S. *Lyra*. Most of his party remain at Johanna for some three months, the healthiest season will then be set in, and either at Rovuma or Shire a commencement will be made of a work which I hope will be beneficent to Africa.

"You will oblige me much if you can give any information about an Arab of Zanzibar or near it called Ben Habib ben Salem Lafifi. He went off with 95 Makololo in 1855, and when I reached England in 1856 information had been received there that the party had arrived at and left Loanda—but not a syllable has been heard more. The wives of the Makololo are mourning over them, and I promised to make enquiries. I suspect that they have been sold as French *Free* emigrants.—The Headman was called PUTONONO. I have brought the subject before Lord John Russell not knowing at the time that you had been appointed Consul at Zanzibar.

"If you can inform me at your convenience whether horses can be procured at a reasonable rate at Zanzibar, I shall feel much obliged.

"Wishing you health and success in your important sphere of action,

"I am,

"Very faithfully yours,

"(signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE¹

"A letter given to any of the cruisers will be sure to find me. Dr Kirk and I send some of our Fever powder to Speke. We have never found it to fail. I believe its composition is explained to him in my letter should you be unable to send the medicine with it."

"RIVER SHIRE

"23 *Jan*y., 1862

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I took the liberty of writing to you about twelve months ago about a party of Makololo who had been detained by an Arab called

¹ "Very faithfully yours," is at the bottom of p. 6 of the letter and the signature at the top of p. 7.

Ben Habib bin Salem Laffi over seven years. I heard when at Johanna that he was at Kilwa, and again when on Lake Nyassa in September last that he had passed the lower end of the Lake on his way back to the Makololo country. He was described as in a great hurry—had left Kilwa though one of the Makololo head men had some sores on his feet which prevented his travelling—and directed this Makololo man and his party to follow as soon as he was well. This hurry to get away out of Kilwa I concluded arose from your influence, and I am happy to say all passed Lake Nyassa in good spirits on their way homewards. Two cannons and 58 barrels of gunpowder which he had bought would probably propitiate the Chief.

We found an Arab dhow slaving about half-way up the Lake. It had been built recently to carry slaves across, and fled from us twice to the eastern shore as we approached the sphere of her operations. Slavery is the only trade known, and the population is prodigious. We sailed along the western shore in a boat we carried past the cataracts, and hope soon to carry a small steamer the same way—a plan I am glad to see by your letter to Sir George Grey you think highly of. The Lake is very deep—about 220 miles long, and from 18 to 50 or 60 broad. It was very stormy while we were there, and this prevented our crossing to the eastern shore to see about Rovuma. We wish to have an outlet away from the Portuguese, and I hear that the Governor General of Mozambique went up lately 'to settle the boundary between his province and Zanzibar.' This is evidently a movement to forestall our making use of Rovuma as an outlet. They have built a fort lately at the mouth of the Shire, and put up a custom-house at Kongone, a mouth of the Zambesi we discovered, as a claim to dues when the cotton trade shall be developed; and the Governor of Tette does all he can to depopulate the country from which the cotton may come by slave-hunting. May I beg of you to say whether R. Rovuma is in the territory of Zanzibar or not? We could get on with the Sultan I think—but the slaving propensities of the Portuguese are most inveterate. If Rovuma is in the Sultan's dominions, a statement to that effect in a Despatch would assist me greatly if I could refer to it or to your authority.

“(signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE

“I hope you will excuse my boring you thus. Your letter to Sir George Grey and your doings in freeing the Banyan slaves encourage me to believe that you will take my intrusion kindly.”

"NEWSTEAD ABBEY

"MANSFIELD, NOTTS

"8 Decr., 1864

"MY DEAR COL. RIGBY,

"I took the liberty of writing to you some time ago and not knowing that you had left England sent it to the Foreign Office. As it may not have been forwarded I write again and trust you will excuse me troubling you on a mere personal matter.

"When we reached Lake Nyassa we heard of no white man having ever been there before, and when we subsequently came down to the coast I received a letter from Captain Oldfield of the *Lyra* in which he stated that he had heard that Dr Roscher had reached the Lake too, but on comparing dates he found that we were first there, and he still remembers distinctly that on Dr Roscher reaching the Lake he was told that a party of white men had arrived before him at its southern extremity. I have lost Captain O.'s letter, and will feel greatly obliged if you have the dates to furnish them to me at your earliest convenience. [Line missing.] [I should like?] to publish your letter in a footnote in another book at which I am at present hard at work. My reason for being so anxious to have your authority is the Germans' wish to claim the discovery as German and not English. I did not think of referring to Roscher except in a general way, and with an expression of sorrow for his untimely end till I heard this. Hoping you will kindly excuse this trouble,

"DAVID LIVINGSTONE"

In 1874 Rigby, by request of the Royal Geographical Society, undertook the sad task of making the arrangements for the conveyance of Livingstone's body from Southampton to its resting-place in Westminster Abbey. (See Chapter XVII.)

With Speke and Grant his relations were most intimate, and a close friendship formed which ended only with death. Speke's personality evidently won his heart from the outset. He had had several letters from him and Burton from the interior, and had sent off supplies to them in January 1859. Their arrival from Keelwa in March was reported by him to the Indian Government in a dispatch in which he said:—

"Captain Speke is confidently of opinion that the northern end of this great lake [i.e. Victoria Nyanza] will prove to be the source

of the White Nile.¹ . . . The Belooch Sepoys² and Arabs who accompanied the expedition all talk of Captain Speke with the greatest affection. By his kind and considerate treatment of them, he has acquired their entire confidence, and they were ready to accompany him again to any part of Africa. From his tact in conciliating the natives, his resolution and scientific acquirements, I am confident he has proved himself eminently qualified for any future African explorations."

During their stay of nearly three weeks at the Consulate, he accompanied Speke and Burton on two visits to the Sultan. Correspondence with Speke continued at frequent intervals until his return with Grant in August 1860.³ Of this Speke wrote in his Journal:—

"On the 17th after the anchor was cast, without a moment's delay I went off to the British Consulate to see my old friend, Colonel Rigby. He was delighted to see us; and, in anticipation of our arrival had prepared rooms for our reception that both Captain Grant and myself might enjoy his hospitality until arrangements could be made for our final start into the interior. The town, which I had left in so different a condition 16 months before, was in a state of great tranquillity, brought about by the energy of the Bombay Government on the Muscat side and Colonel Rigby's exertions on this side, in preventing an insurrection Sultan Majid's brother had created with a view of usurping his Government. . . . Slavery had received a severe blow by the sharp measures Colonel Rigby had taken. . . . Finally, in compliance with my request—and this was the most important item of news to myself—Colonel Rigby had sent on thirteen days previously fifty-six loads of cloth and beads,

¹ Speke had heard of the existence of the great Lake at Berbera on his first so unfortunate expedition with Burton. He said, "The Somali described its dimensions as equal in extent to the Gulf of Aden, and further alluded to its being navigated by white men. None of the men present had been there to see it, though it was currently known as a positive fact amongst them. I did not believe the story in the light they expressed it, supposing they confounded an inland sea with the western or Atlantic Ocean. Colonel Rigby, H.B.M. Consul at Zanzibar, tells me he also heard of this lake when he was travelling in this country some years previously." (*What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1864, p. 116.)

² These were mercenaries from Muscat and Mekran who composed the greater portion of the Sultan's army.

³ A letter Rigby wrote at this time to Sir George Grey was published in the *Cape Monitor* (see Appendix VII).

in charge of Ramji's men, consigned to Musa at Kaze. . . . Colonel Rigby, who had at heart as much as anybody the success of the expedition, materially assisted me in accomplishing my object—that men accustomed to discipline and a knowledge of English honour and honesty should be enlisted, to give confidence to the rest of the men; and he allowed me to select from his boat's crew any men I could find who had served in men-of-war and had seen active service in India. . . . Sultan Majid, at the suggestion of Colonel Rigby, gave me thirty-four men more, who were all raw labourers, taken from his gardens. . . . The payment of these men's wages for the first year, as well as the terms of the agreement made with them, by the kind consent of Colonel Rigby were now entered in the Consular Office books, as a security to both parties.

"Baraka [one of the men taken] had served nearly all his life with Englishmen—was the smartest and most intelligent negro I ever saw—was invaluable to Colonel Rigby as a detector of slave traders, and enjoyed his confidence completely—so much so, that he said, on parting with him, that he did not know where he should be able to find another man to fill his post."

Anyone who has worked with negroes will appreciate to the full what a sacrifice Rigby made when he parted thus with his best men. And will appreciate also how much the success or failure of the expedition depended on its comprising such elements.

In a letter written to Rigby in December, of which extracts were printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Speke wrote further:—

"We often think of you and the great service you have rendered to the expedition by giving us Baraka and the others of your crew; they are the life of the camp. As to Baraka, he is the 'father' of his race and a general of great distinction among the serviles. I do not know what we should have done without him. . . . Many of the Sultan's men I liberated from slavery and gave them muskets as an earnest of good faith, at the same time telling them that they should eventually receive the same amount of wages as all the other free men; but they have deserted me, carrying off their weapons."

To go back. During their stay in Zanzibar Rigby took long walks with Speke or Grant or both almost daily. On Septem-

ber 14th he was "busy engaging Speke's men and seeing them paid," on the 23rd he joined in their farewell visit to Majid, and on the 25th he left with them for Bagamoyo, where he stayed with them till the 30th, strolling about the country. He was obliged to leave them sooner than he intended because he received news of the arrival of General Coghlan at Zanzibar. Grant wrote of this period:—¹

"Colonel Rigby, an officer of the Bombay Army, H.M.'s Consul, entertained us with true Indian hospitality during the 39 days of our stay; and his exertions greatly contributed to our getting away so quickly. He acted as Interpreter at the Durbar, where the Sultan was most affable, shaking hands with all."

Colonel Grant subsequently became one of Rigby's dearest and best friends, and as near neighbours in London, both ever keenly interested in African exploration and the African slave trade, they met very frequently. I can remember as a child hearing my Father urge my brothers to learn to draw well, pointing out to them that while Speke had very special abilities and was the soul of the expedition, Grant owed his position with it and consequent fame to his skill in draughtmanship.

Letters passed between Speke and Rigby whenever possible during the journey, and Speke sent his trophies and natural history specimens, and his letters to his mother to the Consul for forwarding. In his diary Rigby comments on "the shameful conduct of old Luddah in not forwarding Speke's supplies. The boxes with cheroots and brandy and biscuit which I sent on the 24th Oct. were detained 22 days on the coast, and the box of letters sent on the 21st inst is still at Bagamoyo. I'll never trust this greedy old scoundrel again." But whom was he to trust?

A sum of £2,000 was placed at his disposal for the use of the Speke Expedition on requisition of the Royal Geographical Society.

In 1862, at a meeting of the Society, Sir Roderick Murchison,

¹ *A Walk Across Africa*, 1864.

the President, took the opportunity of Rigby's presence to acknowledge how much geographers were indebted to him for the assistance he rendered on all occasions to African travellers. Rigby then explained the causes of some of the unforeseen difficulties which Speke's Expedition had met with, the chief being a terrible famine which prevented caravans from moving, and supplies and letters from reaching the explorers. A letter from him was received by them on October 31, 1860, and nothing more from the outer world reached either of them until they reached Gondokoro in February 1863.¹

On their arrival at Southampton they were met by a deputation consisting of the Mayor, the Town Clerk, Colonel Rigby and three other gentlemen.

The following five letters from Speke will explain themselves. I have omitted a few passages.

"JORDANS

"ILMINSTER

"19th Jan., 1860

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"I have driven the fox to earth at last, and now only require a little drawing to get him in the bag. I send you a notice of our late G.S. meeting, which will show you what is now afloat there. Now I have in conjunction with Mr Petherick undertaken to go to the Nyanza again and to connect it with the Nile—I going up the west side of the Lake from Unyamemba whilst he goes down southwards from Gondokoro. We shall I hope meet in two months about and return together by the Valley of the Nile to Egypt. The only thing left for me to obtain before commencing to get up the expedition is the transfer of my services by the India House to the R.G. Society's purposes. This as I've hinted in the beginning of the letter is now quite certain. Indeed I expect to get a final answer about it to-morrow or next day.

"Lord Elphinstone in a letter to Sir C. Wood expresses his regret that the gold medal was not given to me instead of to Burton. I have spoken at the India House my opinion about our moral obligations to all those unfortunate men of whom you sent home word, and am delighted to tell you that its justice has been recognized.

¹ J. A. Grant, *A Walk Across Africa*.

Sir C. Grey (Under Secy. of State) is the best man in the India House, and he enters warmly into my views, so I trust before long that something will be done for the men.

"Burton has got the dumps, and is cutting himself at every turn. He first applied to the R.G. Society for a refundment of his expenses, then the letter of complaint against him from Zanzibar arrived and he told the India House that he had paid all the money for which he was requiring restitution at the hands of the R.G. Society out of his own private resources and that he was willing (had there been any need of it) to have paid as much more money—keeping dark his transactions with the R.G. Society. Now however the R.G.S. won't do anything for him, but require he should apply himself to the India House, which Burton of course is afraid to do for fear of exposing himself.

"By the bye this matter must be an enigma to you, for I said in my last letter that the Govt. had promised to pay Burton and myself our dues, which is a mistake. I was told so, but without proper authority.

"I called on Mrs Serrell¹ when I was in Town, but very unfortunately did not find her at home. I was longing to have seen some of your private accounts of the late Burghash affair. How much more comfortable and secure the Sultan must feel now. It seems to have been a sharp and spirited affair as long as it lasted. I have told the people here that what you have now done is the best thing that could have happened for my prospects. They listen at India House with great pride when I tell them the way in which you govern at Zanzibar—defeating the French Consul and carrying everything before you—that you are the father of Zanzibar and the Sultan your eldest son.

"I shall write again as soon as ever I hear definitely of the transfer of my services, and will then ask you for your assistance in getting up the preliminary part of my expedition for me.—To arrange with some Shaykh [an Arab] who will undertake to travel with me for two or more years keeping 40 of his slaves constantly in work for me on a liberal salary payable at Zanzibar on representation of a life certificate which I shall send back from time to time by return caravans from the interior. Also to get Ludha to send on some advance supplies to an agent at Kazeh and in Karagwah that I may not be detained on the road after once setting out.

"I shall make all arrangements for the payment of services, etc., in the most concise manner before starting that no one shall have such doubts of being remunerated by me as they always enter-

¹ One of Rigby's sisters.

tained of Burton. I want to go the whole round from Zanzibar up the west side of the Nyanza and down the Nile. This would be a glorious tour! One that even the Shaykh who goes with me might well be proud of. The men who go with me could wind up by making the pilgrimage of Mecca, and then return by Buggaloes to Zanzibar. For this I would make arrangements with our Consul at Cairo.

"The Bari people I've no doubt will be tough fellows to deal with, but with Petherick diverting their attention one way whilst I do the other, we ought to find no difficulty in pushing our way through them.

"With profound salaam to all old friends, believe me yours ever very sincerely

"J. H. SPEKE"

"KINANGA RANGA

"6th October [1860]

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"Your letter of extracts with the medicine and all have given us great delight. A thousand thanks to Mr Frost. Old Grant and I have roared again over the letter. It's quite a sauce to our dry living. I am sure everybody at Zanzibar knows it, that I was the leader and Burton the second of the Expedition. Had I not been with him he never could have undergone the journey, and so confident was old Col. H.¹ of this that at one time when I had reason to ask him confidentially if I could leave Burton with propriety . . . he said, no for God's sake do not, or you will hazard the success of the Expedition.—I wished indeed then to forsake Burton and go to the Nyassa, and the old Colonel was the only man who prevented me from doing it. The last words the poor old Colonel said to Burton, and he cannot deny it, for he told me so himself, was, that he, the Colonel, was sorry he was going, although he had been accessory to it, for he felt certain from what he had already seen that he, Burton, would fail, but at the same time he said, 'I must say you are lucky in having Speke with you, and I hope you will get on well together.' At the time that he said this to Burton, he said to me 'Speke, I am sorry to part with you, for I fear this Expedition will fail. Do you know I would not myself go with that man Burton on any condition.' . . . Burton thought I never would write because I had been soft enough to give him up my Somali diaries, or he never would have asked

¹ Hamerton, the Consul.

me to go with him. Mind, I started to explore the Somali country, defraying the present expenses myself on his promises to refund me afterwards, and for this reason I gave him every collection, observations and my original diary, and afterwards—although he never offered me the money back again that I had spent—he sent away my specimens and printed my diaries to swell his own book with, and this too without ever asking my consent. And again I know he never would have asked me to go with him on this last Expedition if he had thought me capable of writing, from the jealousy which he displayed concerning Lieutenant Hardy at that time. Hardy, you must know, knew the Somali lingo and applied to be placed on the Expedition, but the Government referring him to Burton, B. said the Somalis had a great dislike to that officer, and he thought it would be detrimental to the interests of the Expedition if he accompanied it. But whilst Burton wrote this humbug to the Govt., he said to me in the presence of Stiggins that he was not going to have a man with him who knew a language of which he was ignorant. . . . It is true Burton touched up some of my diaries on return from the Nyanza as they stood in the original, but not one word of that stood in the same language when Blackwood printed it, but by practice in writing I improved my style of expression and consequently all the wording with it. If you remember in B.'s *Mecca* he expresses his want of a 'silent friend,' and ever since then he has invariably said he would never travel by himself again. He damns himself by saying I am no observer, for at the time the Gold Medal was given to him, and reflections were made about the quality of the observations, he then said, truthfully for a wonder, that all those observations were made by myself. And on our both applying for the Lakes again, the Geographical Council told me I was selected for the best part, viz. the sources of the Nile, because I alone had brought back all the geographical results of that expedition, and Burton had not shown himself capable of doing anything but making ethnological remarks. . . . On coming out of the country when he was ashamed of his not having done anything but write notes at the dictation of the Arabs he asked me to teach him the way to observe, which I did do, and now he says he did not ask me to go with him because he did not want my services. After coming home from the Crimea at Burton's invite, and although I had thrown up a private expedition to do so, I told him I would not go again with him if I should be led into such expenses as I was at Berbera, so little did I care about acting second fiddle to him whom I have always thought I could show the way to better than he to me. But he pressed me to do so and even gave a money order for my passage

out to Bombay rather than *lose my services*. Oh what humbug!!! I would had I known, or rather had I not been misled by Burton's invitation, have carried on by myself in the Caucasus, but that broken up I did not care *very* much how it was as long as I had no expenses. About signing myself Surveyor, he signed me Second-in-command, which I objected to as I only undertook to do that work, surveying, when it was agreed between us, *finally* that I should pay half the expenses of the Expedition. He did not pay for my [illegible in letter] with Zawadi; he only lent me money until my pay was issued, and now I have repaid him for that as well as all of the half expenses of the Expedition; and had the Govt. not paid the men at Zanzibar, I should have paid my share to them likewise. The Sheikh, Halima, Zawadi and Bombay are all now chuckling over Burton's letter: but enough of this rot: you know only too well how things have been done. . . .

"It is getting very late, so good night. I will write again from Kidunda, whence I send all the Beloochs back. I cannot tell you how much obliged I shall be to you for writing to my Mother. She will love you for it. With Grant's love and my own

"Yours ever very sincerely,

"(signed) J. H. SPEKE"

"KAZEH

"10th March, 1861

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"I have reluctantly been under the necessity of sending the Sheikh Said bin Salem back to Zanzibar as his health has become so troublesome to him that he cannot travel. The poor little man feels greatly disappointed that he cannot accompany me to Egypt to show the world that he is not the kind of faithless man which Burton made him out to be, but he has resigned himself to his fate magnanimously, as he knows as well as I do that his accompanying the Expedition any further could only end by giving me an infinity of trouble. He will take back a box full of specimens of Nat. History as soon as I leave this, for which the porters conveying it will receive \$10 by a note on Ludha. The Sheikh also has a note on Ludha for 100 dollars as a present for good conduct. One of Said bin Salem's greatest desires of reaching Egypt with me was the hope that by his doing so his fidelity would be established, and as he aspired to gaining great *éclat* from his countrymen by accomplishing that feat, so he thought it not improbable the Sultan would establish him Wali of Kilwa on the next vacancy occurring, as his father, before

the present incumbent, held that office. I mention this matter to you as I sincerely think the Sheikh a very gentlemanly, honest and in every respect fitted person to be successor to the present man, and if you would kindly ask the Sultan to give him that appointment for my sake, I shall esteem it the greatest favour either the Sultan or yourself could do me.

"There is another thing I wish you particularly to speak to the Sultan about. It is this. For the last two years—since the old Sultan Funchkina of Unyamembe died—this country has been turned upside down owing to the unnatural nay unjustifiable interference of the Arabs who use the power of their guns to make or upset governments at their pleasure. The trade of the interior is already suffering and must shortly cease if this policy is persisted in. Already two men have sat upon the throne of Unyamembe neither of which have any lawful right to the position, whilst the eldest son of Funchkina, a very able and worthy personage by name Masinyi, has been excluded from it by the Arabs' forces. All the Wangambinis [?] as far as I can learn are exceedingly anxious that Masinyi should be their Sultan, and they say if the Sultan would only send an order here to prevent the Arabs from interfering they would establish him their King at once. Musa knows Masany from childhood and brought him to visit me a few days since with a view to my writing to you on the subject, for all the worthier merchants of this country are highly desirous that some stop should be put to the raids of the Arabs which in fact are only perpetrated as a pretext to loot.

"Yours ever very sincerely,

"J. H. SPEKE"

"KAZEH

"12th May, 1861

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"As the Unyamuezi Royal Mail has broken down I leave this with my other dispatches in the hands of Said bin Salem to convey to you as soon as his health will permit of his travelling. The poor little Sheikh is very disappointed at his not being able to travel with me to the journey's end, but as I foresaw at Zanzibar a once screwed horse is a very poor animal to trust to and therefore is much better out of the way. I have given him a chit to you which will show you what I think of him, and I trust he may be appointed to the Wali-ship of Kilwa. I am sending the last of the Tots back with him, but although they are my only cooks I thank God to be rid of them—however do you look after them when they arrive and

send them off as contented as their discontented dispositions will permit of back to the Cape.

"All my letters are open for your use. You may read them all, both public and private, only separate them well so that no miscarriages may arise. The one to Blackwood I wish you and all the good folks of Zanzibar to read, and if you would all sign it, so much the better. I hope its publication may have the effect of reforming Burton: at any rate it will check his scribbling mania, and save his soul the burthen of many lies.

"This place is a regular Botany Bay; all the blackguards of Zanzibar are flocking to it. I hear the road is thronged with them, flying because they can get no *nishmat* from their Prince. The losses of the merchants have been something frightful, and things have risen to such a price that one *Frassala* of coffee brought \$50 at auction. Slaves sold for \$100, and all things also alike.

"Banaku and Bombay are in their prime, they do things turn and turn about, and certainly do them very well. I could not get on without those men, and shall ever thank you for them.

"One of Burton's unpaid orders has just been presented to me, but I have written across it referring the matter to you that Burton may be prosecuted to teach him better. This difficulty has arisen from the sharp practice of Burton not allowing the Sheikh to see him after his arrival at Zanzibar. Lest there should be any discussion with Ludha about the payment of my porters I wish to inform you that notwithstanding all the pay it is said that Ludha gave them, they, the porters, said after I had been on the road a few days' journey that Ludha had induced them to go with me saying that I, instead of rations, would give them each two *fundos* of beads daily. This I put down as all nonsense, for Ludha had never said a word either to myself, the Sheikh or anybody else about it, and it was contrary to all custom, but what was customary I gave the Kinangozi, and all went on well for a time; but at the next rumpus they struck work because they said they had been promised a present of two *fundos* each by the Banyan, and I only got them on by stopping *posho*. The third and last time they struck for 10 *fundos* each, but I gave no answer, for their different demands in my mind proved that there was no truth in their assertions. Still Banaku has often given as his opinion that the Banyans must have said something about it, and that they have both deceived myself and the porters by using sweet words to get rid of us. One thing however is quite certain. Unyamyebe has gone untimely to the dogs through the bad example of the traders and of such as Burton is, and it never will recover again. Slaves must do the office of portorage.

"I have lost three carbines by deserters, and have told the Sheikh to keep a good sharp lookout for them and to make them over to you until I arrive at Cairo when I will dispose of them to those of my Wangwanos who do my service best.

"Would you ask Frost to have all my specimens opened and fresh packed in proper tins before he sends them to England.

"I shall expect no end of a letter from you as soon as I arrive in Cairo, and I have told the Sheikh to inform me by letter how he has succeeded in the proposed appointment.

"You will not be sorry to hear that I have effected the freedom of the four men the Sheikh bought with my money by giving the Sheikh \$10 a piece for them. I have now nothing but Wangwanos with me.

"I have since taken the two notes away from the Sheikh for \$100 and \$10 respectively, and have given him instead one note for \$240, of which 100 goes to good conduct, 100 for taking the Tots and specimens down to the Coast and the remaining \$40 for the freedom of his slaves. I have told him to give the Tots one goat every week, as much grain as they can eat, and to give them each one donkey for riding. Will you kindly enquire from the Tots how they have fared, and see if the 100 dollars has been enough, otherwise the Sheikh must be paid more.

"And now dear Rigby as I think there is nothing left to tell you I will conclude by asking you to give my best Salaam to the Sultan and the residents generally of Zanzibar.

"Believe me to be

"Your ever sincere friend,

"(*signed*) J. H. SPEKE"

"GRAND HOTEL, PARIS

"20th April, 1864

"MY DEAR RIGBY,

"I was most delighted with the sight of your handwriting this morning, but what sad accounts you do give of India. For a long long time I have been wondering what had become of you. Did you not get the book and letters I sent to the Oriental Club just before your leaving England? If I have got the book you allude to, I will do as you direct immediately on my return to England.

"I am shortly going to publish my *first two* Expeditions in one Volume. The Hindu map published by Wilford has turned out a forgery, so in the Second Edition it will be left out. As yet only 10,000 copies have been sold, which is the *whole* of the 1st Edition.

"Grant has been travelling on the Continent the whole winter

through, and is now visiting in Florence. I on the other hand have been shooting and hunting till lately.

"In London I am getting up a Central African Association to open up the Equatorial regions by the Channel of the Nile. Then I have been lecturing to the Geographical Society to try and induce them to open up the Equator by sending scientific expeditions into the interior from the French post at Gaboon.

"On Sunday next I expect to see the Emperor for the same purpose, carried with a high hand. The Empress gave me an invite to her soirée, and was very agreeable. She thought however I was a great muff refusing Mtesa's offer of 1,000 women. Tell Tembo this with my Salaam.

"If I have to return to India, I should like to have a month or so in your Cheer Forest.¹ Would this be possible? If the natives don't kill game, how is it they allow Europeans to do so? I would sacrifice my pay to get some *first rate* sport, but I would not go out of my way for inferior shooting.

"Playfair has been confined to his couch for six weeks with a 'puffy foot and ankle.'

"Bombay and all my men have married and are living on the garden I gave them.

"Yours ever,

"J. H. SPEKE"

Colonel Grant was no great scribe, and my Father to the end of his life was so constantly in touch with him that he preserved few of such letters as he received from him. A reference to Stanley in one, dated December 1882, runs:—

"Do you know that Stanley has cut away to the Congo? It was given out that he had gone to Spain on account of his health, but it looks as if he is determined to be on the spot and to defy the French who are led by that piratical fellow De Brazza.

"I do hope Stanley will win both for his own sake and for the sake of the King of the Belgians."

I must now take in hand a painful and difficult part of my task—the narration of Rigby's relations with Richard Burton. I am indeed tempted to let the matter rest, but as the scurrilous attacks made on him by Burton have never been publicly answered, I think it due to his memory, and to Speke's, and

¹ See chapter xv.

to the cause of historical truth to bring to light what my Father and Speke and Grant decided, quite rightly at that time, to treat with a large measure of contemptuous silence. Burton subsequently became, owing to his facile pen, a celebrated man, and the centenary of his birth (1923) produced a crop of eulogistic notices of his life. Misplaced admiration may have serious consequences, especially if the admirer has anything to do with native races and the admired be a Burton, and remarkable a man as he undoubtedly was, anything that throws light on a character whose "greatness" was so spurious should, I think, no longer be withheld.¹ When Lady Burton published the *Life* of her late husband (1891) with repetitions of the slanders in spite of Rigby no longer being alive,² my Mother and Colonel Grant took counsel together as to whether

¹ A quotation from W. P. Ker's *Essays*, vol. ii, pp. 282-283 (Address to the London School of Ethics, 1900), is in point here:—

"One moral theme which the moralists have not quite exhausted is historical judgment—the estimate of characters and situations in history. It may not be of the greatest importance in the conduct of life, but it is not mere diversion. It bears upon practice and upon that judgment of my neighbour which goes on from day to day, and which enters into every bargain and exchange. The graduations between a practical estimate of my neighbour and a theoretical, historical estimate of the character of Alexander the Great are not broken by any gap. The same method is used in both cases, though the materials are not the same. The value of historical problems in a School of Ethics is, for one thing, that they bring out the peculiarities of those who judge, and give at times a cruel demonstration of their fallacies. In private cases there is seldom opportunity for thoroughly testing an opinion; but history is more or less common ground, and if you can get a man's results on some historical question, you have probably added something to the data of Ethics. It is one of the uses of history to afford materials for the moral philosopher. . . . It is not every historian who can judge and reveal the great complex and self-contradictory minds, of which Shakespeare's Macbeth is one type and his Henry IV another. . . . What is a historian to do when he comes on a personage who is at the same time magnanimous and malignant, who domineers over the weak and apologizes to those who challenge him, and yet is great and dignified? One may ask that if the historian is unable to solve the contradictions and show the character as Shakespeare can represent it, both lofty and degraded, both generous and selfish, enlightened and at the same time self-deceived, he should at least acknowledge the contradictions and state the paradox. To shrink from attacking such historical problems when they come in his way, is for the historian to aid in debasing the moral currency."

² In her Appendix, pp. 567-577 are headed "Letters bearing on Speke and Rigby's Cabal."

action should be taken. They decided to continue the policy of contempt and spare this sincere and devoted woman the pain which must have been inflicted had Grant entered the lists and revealed the worst he knew, and the officials of the Royal Geographical Society knew, about Burton. Even she describes Grant as "honest and staunch"¹—hard indeed would it have been for any to attribute less pleasing characteristics to that most kindhearted, lovable, gentle, but very level-headed Scotsman. Little did she suspect how much, in his compassion, he spared her, though the temptation to be loyal in the first instance to the memory of his friends must have been a strong pull towards the less magnanimous line of conduct. But he knew his friends' memory could take care of itself.

Burton's first reference to Rigby is a pleasant one, viz. in the Preface to *First Footsteps in East Africa*, 1856, to the effect that his *Outline of the Somali Language* had "supplied a great lacuna in the dialects of Eastern Africa."

Rigby was in touch with him for some months before he became his host at the Consulate. On September 19, 1858, he records in his diary, "Sent letters and papers to Burton directed to Ujiji, and wrote to Burton myself." The letter recording his arrival with Speke has already been quoted. That he made a bad impression can only be gathered from the Consul's silence about him in both letters and private diary² from Burton's departure on March 23rd until he

¹ See her letter to the *Daily Graphic*, January 9, 1891. The illustration of the design for Burton's tomb is of interest. In his death as in his life the Crescent above the Cross. In *First Footsteps* Burton wrote, "Again the melodious chant of the Muezzin—no evening bell can compare with it for solemnity and beauty—and in the neighbouring mosque the loudly intoned Amin and Allaho Akbar—far superior to any organ."

² To his intimate correspondent J. Miles alone did he betray anything of his feelings when Burton was his guest. To him he wrote:—"Speke is a right good, jolly, resolute fellow. Burton is not fit to hold a candle to him and has done nothing in comparison with what Speke has, but Speke is a modest, unassuming man, not very ready with his pen. Burton will blow his trumpet very loud and get all the credit of the discoveries. Speke works. Burton lies on his back all day and picks other people's brains. . . . Dr Roscher returned two days ago from the interior of Africa. . . . Burton was very jealous of him."

addressed Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for India, on June 15th, when he merely remarked:—

“On the recent return of the East African Expedition under Captain Burton, His Highness distributed from his own Treasury about £450 sterling amongst the Guard which accompanied the Expedition throughout, the men having received no payment from Captain Burton except a small present each on starting.”

It was not till July 15th that he held it his duty to acquaint the Indian Government with Burton's misconduct. Why did he show so much patience unless in the hope that Burton would tardily set the matter right? Had he been inspired by the malice with which Burton charged him, he would hardly have waited four months. His dispatch reads as follows:—

“From Captain C. P. Rigby, H.M. Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar, to H. L. Anderson, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

“ZANZIBAR

“July 15th, 1859

“SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the following circumstances connected with the late East African Expedition under the command of Captain Burton.

“2. Upon the return of Capt. Burton to Zanzibar in March last, from the interior of Africa, he stated that, from the funds supplied him by the Royal Geographical Society for the expenses of the Expedition, he had only a sufficient sum left to defray the passage of himself and Captain Speke to England, and in consequence the persons who accompanied the Expedition from here, viz. the Kafilā Bashi, the Belooch sepoys, and the porters, received nothing whatever from him on their return.

“3. On quitting Zanzibar for the interior of Africa the Expedition was accompanied by a party of Belooch soldiers, consisting of a Jemadar and twelve armed men. I understand they were promised a monthly salary of five dollars each; they remained with the Expedition for twenty months, and as they received nothing from Captain Burton beyond a few dollars each before starting, H.H. the Sultan has generously distributed amongst them the sum of two thousand three hundred dollars.

"4. The Head Clerk of the Custom House here, a Banian, by name Ramjee, procured ten men, who accompanied the Expedition as porters. They were promised five dollars each *per mensem* and received pay for six months, viz. thirty dollars each, before starting for the interior. They were absent for twenty months, during three of which the Banian Ramjee states that they did not accompany the Expedition. He now claims eleven months' pay for each of these men, as they have not been paid anything beyond the advance before starting.

"5. The Head Clerk also states that, after the Expedition left Zanzibar, he sent two men to Captain Burton with supplies, one of whom was absent with the Expedition seventeen months, and received nothing whatever; the other, he states, was absent fifteen months, and received six months' pay, the pay for the remaining nine months being still due to him. Thus his claim amounts to the following sums:—

	<i>Dollars</i>
"Ten men for eleven months at five dollars per man per month	550
"One man for seventeen months at five dollars per man per month	85
"One man for nine months at five dollars per man per month	45
	<hr/>
"Total Dollars	680

"6. These men were slaves, belonging to 'Deewans' or petty chiefs, on the opposite mainland. They travel far into the interior to collect and carry down ivory to the coast, and are absent frequently for the space of two or three years. When hired out, the pay they receive is equally divided between the slave and the master. Captain Speke informs me that when these men were hired, it was agreed that one-half of their hire should be paid to the men, and the other half given to Ramjee on account of their owners. When Ramjee asked Captain Burton for their pay on his return here, he declined to give him anything, saying that they had received thirty dollars each on starting, and that he could have bought them for a less sum.

"7. The Kafilā Bashi, or Chief Arab, who accompanied the Expedition, by name Said bin Salem, was twenty-two months with Captain Burton. He states that on the first journey to Pangany and Usambara, he received fifty dollars from Captain Burton, and that before starting on the last Expedition, to discover the Great Lake, the late Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton presented him with five hundred dollars on behalf of Government for the maintenance of his family during his absence. He states that he did not stipulate for any

monthly pay, as Colonel Hamerton told him that if he escorted the gentlemen to the Great Lake in the interior, and brought them in safety back to Zanzibar, he would be handsomely rewarded, and both Captain Speke and Mr Apothecary Frost inform me that Colonel Hamerton frequently promised Said bin Salem that he should receive a thousand dollars and a gold watch if the Expedition were successful.

"8. As it appeared to me that Colonel Hamerton had received no authority from Government to defray any part of the expenses of this Expedition, and probably made these promises, thinking that if the exploration of the unknown interior were successful a great national object would be attained, and that the chief man who conducted the Expedition would be liberally rewarded, and as Captain Burton had been furnished with funds to defray the expenses, I told him that I did not feel authorized to make any payments without the previous sanction of Government, and Said bin Salem has therefore received nothing whatever since his return.

"9. Said bin Salem also states, that on the return of the Expedition from Lake Tanganyika, seventy natives of the country were engaged as porters, and accompanied the Expedition for three months; and that on arriving at a place called 'Kootoo,' a few days' journey from the sea-coast, Captain Burton wished them to diverge from the correct route to the coast opposite Zanzibar, to accompany him south to Keelwa; but they refused to do so, saying that none of their people ever dared to venture to Keelwa, as on their return after losing the protection of their English employers they would certainly be seized and sold as slaves, as it is in the neighbourhood of Keelwa that the chief slave trade on the east coast is carried on. No doubt their fears were well grounded. These men received nothing in payment for their three months' journey, and, as no white man had ever penetrated into their country previously, I fear that any future travellers will meet with much inconvenience in consequence of these poor people not having been paid.

"10. As I considered that my duty connected with the late Expedition was limited to affording it all the aid and support in my power, I have felt very reluctant to interfere with anything connected with the non-payment of these men; but Said bin Salem and Ramjee having appealed to me, and Captain Speke, since his departure from Zanzibar, having written me two private letters, pointing out so forcibly the claims of these men, the hardships they endured, and the fidelity and perseverance they showed, conducting them safely through unexplored countries, and stating also that the agreements with them were entered into at the British Consulate,

and that they considered they were serving the British Government, that I deem it my duty to bring their claims to the notice of Government; for I feel that if these men remain unpaid, after all they have endured in the service of British officers, our name for good faith in these countries will suffer, and that any future traveller, wishing further to explore the interesting countries of the interior, will find no persons willing to accompany them from Zanzibar, or the opposite mainland.

"II. As there was no British Agent at Zanzibar for thirteen months after the death of Colonel Hamerton, the Expedition was entirely dependent on Luddah Damha, the Customs-master here, for money and supplies. He advanced considerable sums of money without any security, forwarded all requisite supplies, and, Captain Speke says, afforded the Expedition every assistance in the most handsome manner. Should Government therefore be pleased to present him with a shawl, or some small mark of satisfaction, I am confident he is fully deserving of it, and it would gratify a very worthy man to find that his assistance to the Expedition is acknowledged.

"I have, etc.,

"(signed) C. P. RIGBY, Captain.

"H.M.'s Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar"

Unofficially Rigby wrote at the same time to Anderson:—

"MY DEAR ANDERSON,

"I have felt very reluctant to make a report on the subject of the non-payment of the men who accompanied Burton, because he may say that as he commanded the expedition he was the best judge of what they were entitled to, and after he has been my guest here for a month¹ I feel that it is a very unpleasant duty to make a report to Government that may appear to reflect on him. But these poor people really have been very badly treated, and instead of the rewards they expected for their twenty months' wanderings through unexplored countries they have not even received what was justly due to them. Burton was in bad health, and these porters carried him on a cot a great part of the way; he was doubtless irritable from sickness and not altogether satisfied with his people, but considering that they were in a strange country where there was no law, and where the lives and property of the white strangers were at their

¹ Contrast Rigby's scruples as a host with Burton's absence of proper feeling as a guest when he forgathered on friendly terms with a man not on visiting terms with the said host, viz. M. Cochet.

mercy, I think all showed great fidelity. Speke says much in their favour. He writes me from Aden,

“‘I have constant visions of Ramjee’s deploring, desponding face when I asked him if he considered he had received his proper dues in relation to those men—slaves of certain Deewans—who adopting his name were sent as an escort to us whilst in inner Africa, and his desponding reply, “No, but it is no matter. The English Government is our Ma Bass—whatever they deem proper must be so.” The pay proper for these men was five dollars a month, of which one half was to be retained by them and the other half by Ramjee to cover the loss of their services.’

“And in another letter he says,

“‘I should be afraid to attempt a journey inland from Zanzibar; unless both men, Said bin Salem, and Ramjee, got what I proposed to Burton on arrival at the Coast, viz. that the former should have five hundred dollars, and that the latter was perfectly entitled to his $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per man *per mensem* as long as they were actually engaged in our service. Only think yourself what we are obliged for from all the men who accompanied us in a country where their desertion would have been our certain destruction, and by their allegiance what we have gained. I was never more surprised in my life than I was at your table when Burton gave out the way he had disposed of Ramjee, and that he would give nothing to the Sheikh (Said bin Salem) because, as he said, it was the way to make him feel, and this too after agreeing with me on the amount advisable to be given to them.’

“I have quoted these extracts in this letter because they show that these men did not forfeit the pay due to them through any misconduct, and I could not properly quote these private letters in an Official.

“Dr Roscher, who was sent out by the King of Bavaria on a scientific mission to explore Central Africa, left for Keelwa about a month ago to penetrate to the Lake Nyassa. He told me that Burton’s treatment of these people had vastly increased the difficulties with which he had to contend, for not a single person would in consequence consent to accompany him from Zanzibar, saying that Burton had induced many to go with him under the promise of regular pay, and presents if successful, and when they returned here after twenty months’ travel he did not pay a single individual. I hope it will not be thought that I have represented this case with any desire to reflect upon Burton, but simply in the hope of seeing these poor men paid what is justly due to them, and to relieve the English name of the imputation of bad faith which will attach to it if their claims are not settled. It was very liberal of the Sultan paying

so large a sum, about 4,600 Rupees, to the Sepoys, but it does not seem fair that he should have to pay a sum which was justly due by Burton.

"Believe me, etc.

"ZANZIBAR, *July 16th, 1859.*"

The response of the Board was the resolution dated August 19, 1859:—

"Resolved

"The Right Hon. the Governor in Council feels that he shall be only anticipating the views of the Government of India and of H.M.'s Government, when he authorizes Captain Rigby to pay to the men who accompanied Captain Burton whatever may be due on their agreements. The claims of Ramjee and Said bin Salem should also be liberally recognized, and Captain Rigby is authorized to satisfy them according to his discretion. It will with reference to the last paragraph of Captain Rigby's letter afford great pleasure to the Right Hon. the Governor in Council to present a gold watch to Luddah Damha, the Customs Master, as a recognition of his disinterested services in aid of the Expedition.

"Lastly Captain Rigby should be authorized, with an expression of the gratitude of Government, to repay to H.H. the Sultan the sum advanced by him to the Sepoys and others who accompanied Captain Burton.

"Captain Rigby may be informed that he has acted with perfect propriety in bringing this subject to the notice of Government.

"This letter should be sent to the Secretary of State with an expression of the opinion of this Government that Captain Burton should be required to explain why he neither paid these men nor brought their services and his debt to them to the notice of Government.

"*19th August, 1859* (signed) ELPHINSTONE.

"A. MALET.

"H. W. REEVES."

Speke, asked for his account of the matter, replied:—

"The Under-Secretary of State for India.

"JORDANS, ILMINSTER

"SIR,

"*1st December, 1859*

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, together with the communications of Captain Rigby and Captain

Burton enclosed, dated India Office, 30th of November, 1859, requiring by orders of the Secretary of State for India in Council a full statement of my views as to the validity or otherwise of certain claims proffered by Captain Rigby, H.B.M.'s Consul of Zanzibar in behalf of certain men who afforded their services to the late East African Expedition commanded by Captain Burton, Bombay Army.

"In the first place I would mention the fact that the funds which were granted by the Government for the conduct of the Expedition failed us before we had penetrated 100 miles into the interior of Africa. At that time Captain Burton and myself, anticipating the wishes of Government that the objects for which we started should be fulfilled, agreed that all future expenses should be shared between us. But this was only in case it so happened that, after our work was completed, the Government should not feel itself obliged to us for what we had done for them. In the meantime Captain Burton was to find the present means through his own private resources, whilst I remained answerable in the end for the half of all excess, provided the Government should refuse to requite us.

"The passage-money alluded to in the 2nd paragraph of Captain Rigby's was a reserve fund of the Government money intended only for defraying the expenses of our journey homeward from Zanzibar. On the road from the interior of Africa to the coast, I often discussed the subject of our obligations to the men who assisted us with Captain Burton, or rather of the *Kafila Bashi*, *Ramjee*, the *Belooch* soldiers and the ten men supplied by *Ramjee*; and to all these men I explained that we were more or less indebted. Of the other two men who brought us after supplies, I know nothing further than what Captain Burton told me, which was that they had helped themselves very abundantly out of our cloths. I do not know how they were supposed to have provided themselves on the road whilst coming to meet us, or even to pay their passport fees to the Chiefs that line the road like tax-gatherers, or rather Customs Officers; and everything would depend upon that before their claims should be listened to.

"Returning to para. 3 of Captain Rigby's I do not know exactly under what conditions the *Belooch* soldiers were induced to serve us, but this I can answer for, as I objected to the terms of engagement that were made with them, which was that they should only be required to serve six months; therefore I maintain at the expiration of those six months they would assuredly have left us, had they not confided in our honour to requite their services.

"It is true these men did not always behave agreeably to us, for

they disliked the restraint they were under. As far as my knowledge is concerned, these men did not mutiny at the time of Colonel Hamerton's death, though they did make a feint at desertion when they thought they were unjustly suspected by Captain Burton implying that they had made away with some of the cloth of the Expedition. I told Captain Burton that I thought he acted wrongly in the way in which he endeavoured to find out if his convictions were well grounded, when he told me that I was as bad as the men were. When journeying alone with the Beloochees to discover the Victoria Nyanza they did everything they could to please, and I was highly satisfied with their general conduct. The Beloochees would not go to the Nyanza with me until they were first paid, as they said it was completely an extra undertaking, being off the Ujiji line, the only one they had agreed to travel on, and as their time had so long expired. In this matter I think they showed their good sense; for it is the only service for which they received any proper pay. At the same time that these Beloochees were striking for their pay I begged Captain Burton to order the Kafilā Bashi to go with me on the same journey as the country was but little frequented and it was, as he knew, much infested with war-parties, but he would not do so, and in consequence the Kafilā Bashi, not considering me his Chief, did not feel bound to serve me when Captain Burton was present and might require his services. At least such was his answer when I asked him after my return.

"Before we parted with our men, on arriving near the sea-coast, I believed Captain Burton was satisfied with my decision as to our obligations to the various men, and that he would have paid the Kafilā Bashi 500 dollars each (saving one man Khuda Bakeh who showed much unreasonable insubordination) and Ramjee all that was due to him for the loss of the services of the ten slaves with which he furnished us.

"Before the second engagement of Ramjee's ten men, I told Captain Burton, if we took them again to service, we were bound to pay them on the same conditions as before, but I was averse to having them with us at all, for the more men one has in those wild regions where provisions are often scarce and everybody clamors for food, the more trouble one must expect to have with them. However Captain Burton spoke of the perils of the Ugogo and Uyoramo countries and decided on taking them. They were therefore considered by him to be essential to the safety of the Caravan, and I consider Ramjee's claim quite reasonable.

"I must say I was very much surprised on arriving at Zanzibar to find Captain Burton not only intent upon not paying any one of

these men, but even forbade their approaching him, although I told him they wished to speak to him, if only to say good-bye.

"The only men of the Caravan who were paid in full were the Portuguese servants who accompanied us to Aden, and three Negro servants whom I paid in full myself with money advanced by Captain Burton. One of these three black servants and the two Portuguese behaved as badly as any of the Caravan; still I think it was simple justice giving them their pay, for they came through with us to the end and did services for us to the last, and for this we were under obligations to them. The same reasoning is applicable to every man who came through the journey with us.

"I told Captain Rigby all these disagreements at Zanzibar, and regret exceedingly that he did not bring the matter to a crisis at the time, but, as he has since written to me, he did not know how far he was justified in informing against Captain Burton's decision.

"As Ramjee was afraid to appeal, yet thought he had been treated unjustly, and as I felt after reflection that I was a debtor to him, provided the Government might never refund Captain Burton the money he had spent on my account or would not consider the debt to this man competent in them to settle,

"I wrote the full facts to Captain Rigby after arrival at Aden, adding that I was sorry he did not seem to consider the matter in the same important light as I did, and urged him to use his able ingenuity in bringing the case to a proper conclusion, reflecting as little as possible on Captain Burton and sparing me the pain of appearing as an informer against him, but to let justice run its course.

"I also told him to acquaint Ramjee, that if the Government did not settle with him I should consider myself his debtor to one half of the engagements; but as yet I had received no pay myself; and consequently could not satisfy him.

"Colonel Hamerton, late Consul of Zanzibar, paid the Kafilā Bashi 500 dollars at the time of engaging him, and said in my presence that the money was a mere trifle as an earnest of what he would give, if he succeeded in bringing us through the journey successfully, and further said he would reward him by a present of a gold watch.

"Colonel Hamerton was under the impression that he had the power of giving grants of money to any man who might assist any Government project, and accordingly promised much. Indeed, on hearing the limited extent of our means, he promised to advance us several thousand dollars, as he was sure the Government never undertook anything that it was not bent on carrying through.

"I believe all the men had great expectations, until the unhappy event of the Consul's death.

"As I never understood the manner in which Captain Burton spoke to the Kafilā Bashi, from ignorance of the language (Arabic) which they conversed in, I cannot say how far that man was justified in behaving as he did sometimes. I contend he did not deserve a gold watch, from the fact of his not going with me to the Nyanza, for gratuities should only be given for gratuitous or extraordinary services; but I do think, as I said before, that he ought to receive pay.

"The Kafilā Bashi and the Beloochees were provided us by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and were admitted into the British Consulate to make arrangements for going with us. If they started without making any agreement about their pay, they evidently trusted to the protection of the Consulate and to British generosity, and for this reason, in my opinion, they should not have been the less rewarded.

"Captain Burton induced Colonel Hamerton to see and speak to the Beloochees to make their engagements with him more secure. The men were paid some money and promised more, but how much I cannot exactly remember.

"I am more particularly sorry for Ramjee, as he did everything he could to afford us assistance. He left his home in Zanzibar before we started, and prepared every necessary on the coast for us, men, animals, bag and baggage and after we had departed he forwarded things on to us.

"When Captain Burton (on the return journey) was considering whose pay he should cut down, I emphatically explained, and moreover obtained his assent to, our obligations to Ramjee for his loss of the services of the ten men he supplied us with.

"Captain Burton first said that their value in the Bazaar was not so great as their pay amounted to. When I said the bargain for their services was $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per man *per mensem*, and in strict justice it must be paid. Even if he thought of cutting the men for their occasional misbehaviour, that in no way ought to affect Ramjee.

"This of course alluded only to those men who received no pay whatever. Finally I proposed to Captain Burton that instead of his paying these men at Zanzibar he should ask the Consul to do so, or else report the state of our obligations to the Government direct for them to settle.

"With regard to that very regrettable circumstance of the 70 native porters who were engaged at Kazeh in the far interior and brought our baggage to Kootoo near the coast, Captain Burton and I differed at the time, though I could never arrive at the rights of the story; for Captain Burton told me one story, whilst the men, through my Interpreter, told me another. When Captain Burton first wished to let them go without any return for their hard services over a

long and tedious journey, I inquired of my Interpreter whether on engaging themselves at Kazeh they had stipulated on going to any port in particular, when he assured me that the Kafila Bashi (the man who arranges the component members of a caravan) had first tried getting men who would go back with us to Kilwa, but as he could only secure a few men agreeable to doing that journey he said no more about that place, and the porters then, supposing we had abandoned our purpose of going to Kilwa, engaged themselves to travel with us to the coast, conjecturing we then intended pursuing the ordinary route. Arrived at Kootoo, we wished to diverge from the normal line that caravans travel on to inspect the Lufigi river, and this would have taken us five or six days' journey out of the direct way, but the porters would on no condition go with us, although we offered them large presents to do so.

"They said it was a new country, and was out of the way, and had they known we were bent on going out of the ordinary line of march, they would never have left Kazeh with us. I told this to Captain Burton, when he told me it was false, for they were warned of it by the Kafila Bashi.

"Next the porters, finding us obstinately determined on going by the Lufigi, asked for their discharge, as they considered our wishing to force them to do a thing they had never agreed to very unjust, but to balance the matter they wished half pay might be allowed them, although they had done three-fourths of the whole journey. I was solicitous with Captain Burton that they should receive at least the half of their pay, because of their saying they felt themselves tricked at the time of engagement at Kazeh.

"But Captain Burton would not consent, as he said it would only insure their going. However, he gave the leader the whole of his pay, as this man said he would go anywhere we liked to take him; when the whole marched off together.

"Even then I scarcely believed these men were in earnest, as the sacrifice of so much pay must have told so severely on them, and thought they were probably making a feint to deceive us. But after they had disappeared some time and I felt uneasy at the injury to future travellers such an unseemly rupture would occasion, I obtained Captain Burton's consent to try and recall them, but, alas, without effect.

"The Kafila Bashi was offended because he was not consulted at the onset, and would not start to recall them as quickly as wished. On seeing this, I ordered Ramjee's slaves to try and overtake them, which they did, but moved slowly, and without effect.

"The Caravan was long delayed at Kootoo before any relief came, when a caravan from the interior arriving with spare hands, we

engaged as many as we wanted, and travelled altogether by the ordinary route to the coast. These men whom we engaged at Kootoo demanded for the short distance to the coast as much cloth as we had engaged to give the former men from Kazeh for the whole journey thence to the coast, and even with this they were very suspicious of going with us, for after receiving their hire they repeatedly brought it back again saying they were afraid we should trick them as we had done the former ones, lest, when once in motion, we should insist on their going off the normal track.

"I hope whatever decision the Government may come to in granting the Kafila Bashi and the Beloochees any money, or otherwise, that it may be done publicly in the Consulate, the place they were engaged in, or else, in my opinion, much suspicion will be entertained towards travellers in future.

"Although Captain Burton does not appear to be satisfied with either Luddah Damhoo or Ramjee, I must say that I have ever felt we were under the greatest obligations to them, for they did everything in their power to assist us.

"It may appear that I, being subordinate to Captain Burton, was acting in an unjustifiably officious manner when interfering for the natives, but it must be understood that Captain Burton was often ill, and in consequence desired me to act for him.

"Captain Burton in concluding his letter remarks his surprise to find that I still differ in opinion with him, at the same time that I write friendly notes to him.¹ I can only say that I never allow enmity to be rankling in my breast, yet am ever ready to refer to anything discordant with my views, especially if that be on any question of equity. It is the greatest pain to my feelings that I have been compelled to write my views in the present letter, although they only contain what I have ever expressed to Captain Burton in person, and I am sure he cannot accuse me of inconsistency in the way in which I have expressed my opinions, for they have ever been the same.

"I have, etc.,

"(signed) J. H. SPEKE, Captain.

"46th Regt. Bengal N.I."

A copy of Rigby's dispatch of July 15th was forwarded (September 9th) by the Board to the Secretary of State in London with the remark that in their opinion Captain Burton should be required to explain why he neither paid his men nor

¹ The letters to Rigby given above (pp. 233-240) are of course of much later date.

brought their services and his obligations to the notice of the Bombay Government. This was done, and Burton's amazingly impudent but clever answer ran:—

“EAST INDIA UNITED SERVICE CLUB

“*Nov. 11th*, 1859

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official letter dated the 8th November, 1859, forwarding for my information copy of a letter addressed by Captain Rigby, her Majesty's Consul and Agent at Zanzibar, to the Government of Bombay, respecting the non-payment of certain persons hired by me to accompany the Expedition under my command into Equatorial Africa, and apprising me that Sir C. Wood especially desires to be informed why I took no steps to bring the services of the men who accompanied me, and my obligations to them, to the notice of the Bombay Government.

“In reply to Sir Charles Wood I have the honour to state that, as the men alluded to rendered me no service, and as I felt in no way obliged to them, I would not report favourably of them. The Kafilah Bashi, the Jemadar, and the Belooch were servants of H.M. Sayyid Majid, in his pay and under his command. They were not hired by me, but by the late Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton, H.M.'s Consul and H.E.I.C.'s Agent at Zanzibar, and they marched under the Arab flag. On returning to Zanzibar, I reported them as undeserving of reward to Lieut.-Colonel Rigby, and after return to England, when my accounts were sent in to the Royal Geographical Society, I appended a memorandum, that as those persons had deserved no reward, no reward had been applied for.

“Before proceeding to reply to Captain Rigby's letter, paragraph by paragraph, I would briefly premise with the following remarks:—

“Being ordered to report myself to Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton, and having been placed under his direction, I admitted his friendly interference, and allowed him to apply to H.H. the Sultan for a guide and an escort. Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton offered to defray, from public funds, which he understood to be at his disposal, certain expenses of the Expedition, and he promised, as reward to the guide and escort, sums of money, to which, had I been unfettered, I should have objected as exorbitant. But in all cases the promises made by the late Consul were purely conditional, depending entirely upon the satisfactory conduct of those employed. These facts are wholly omitted in Captain Rigby's reports.

“2. Captain Rigby appears to mean that the Kafilah Bashi, the

Belooch sepoys and the porters received nothing whatever on my return to Zanzibar in March last from the interior of Africa because the funds supplied to me by the Royal Geographical Society for the expenditure of the Expedition had been exhausted. Besides the sum of one thousand pounds granted by the Foreign Office, I had expended from my own private resources nearly fourteen hundred pounds, and I was ready to expend more had the expenditure been called for. But, though prepared on these occasions to reward liberally for good service, I cannot see the necessity, or rather I see the unadvisability, of offering a premium to notorious misconduct. This was fully explained by me to Captain Rigby on my return to Zanzibar.

"3. Captain Rigby 'understands' that the party of Belooch sepoys, consisting of a Jemadar and twelve armed men, were promised a monthly salary of five dollars each. This is not the case. Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton advanced to the Jemadar twenty-five, and to each sepoy twenty dollars for an outfit; he agreed that I should provide them with daily rations, and he promised them an ample reward from the public funds in case of good behaviour. These men deserved nothing; I ignore their 'fidelity' and 'perseverance,' and I assert that if I passed safely through an unexplored country, it was in no wise by their efforts. On hearing of Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton's death they mutinied in a body. At the Tanganyika Lake they refused to escort me during the period of navigation, a month of danger and difficulty. When Captain Speke proposed to explore the Nyanza Lake, they would not march without a present of a hundred dollars' worth of cloth. On every possible occasion they clamoured for bakshish, which under pain of endangering the success of the Expedition could not always be withheld. They were often warned by me that they were forfeiting all hopes of a future reward, and, indeed, they ended by thinking so themselves. They returned to Zanzibar with a number of slaves, purchased by them with moneys procured from the Expedition. I would not present either guide or escort to the Consul; but I did not think it my duty to oppose a large reward, said to be 2,300 dollars, given to them by H.H. the Sultan, and I reported his liberality and other acts of kindness to the Bombay Government on my arrival at Aden. This fact will, I trust, exonerate me from any charge of wishing to suppress my obligations.¹

"4. The Banyan, Ramjee, head clerk of the Custom House, did not, as is stated by Captain Rigby, procure me ten men who accom-

¹ This is minuted, "But he should have taken the men to the Consul and made a statement of their conduct to him in their presence."

panied the Expedition as porters; nor were these men, as is asserted (in para. 6), 'slaves belonging to deewans or petty chiefs on the opposite mainland.' It is a notorious fact that these men were private slaves, belonging to the Banyan Ramjee, who hired them to me direct, and received from me as their pay, for six months, thirty dollars each; a sum for which, as I told him, he might have bought them in the bazaar. At the end of six months I was obliged to dismiss these slaves, who, as is usually the case with the slaves of Indian subjects at Zanzibar, were mutinous in the extreme. At the same time, I supplied them with cloth, to enable them to rejoin their patron. On my return from the Tanganyika Lake they requested leave to accompany me back to Zanzibar, which I permitted, with the express warning that they were not to consider themselves re-engaged. The Banyan, their proprietor, had, in fact, sent them on a trading ship into the interior under my escort, and I found them the most troublesome of the party. When Ramjee applied for additional pay, after my return to Zanzibar, I told him that I had engaged them for six months; that I had dismissed them at the end of six months, as was left optional to me; and that he had already received an unusual sum for their services. This conversation appears in a distorted form, and improperly represented in the concluding sentence of Captain Rigby's 6th paragraph.

"5 and 6. With respect to the two men sent on with supplies after the Expedition had left Zanzibar, they were not paid, on account of the prodigious disappearance of the goods entrusted to their charge, as I am prepared to prove from the original journals in my possession. They were dismissed with their comrades, and never afterwards, to the best of my remembrance, did a day's work.

"7 and 8. The Kafilah Bashi received from me for the first journey to Usumbara fifty dollars. Before my departure on the second Expedition he was presented by Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton with five hundred dollars, almost double what he had expected. He was also promised, in case of good conduct, a gold watch and an ample reward, which, however, was to be left to the discretion of his employers. I would not recommend him through Captain Rigby to the Government for remuneration. His only object seemed to be that of wasting our resources and of collecting slaves in return for the heavy presents made to the native Chiefs by the Expedition, and the consequence of his carelessness or dishonesty was, that the expenditure on the whole march, until we had learnt sufficient to supervise him, was inordinate. When the Kafilah Bashi at last refused to accompany Captain Speke to the Nyanza Lake, he was warned that he also was forfeiting all claim to future reward, and

when I mentioned this circumstance to Captain Rigby at Zanzibar, he then agreed with me that the 500 dollars originally advanced were sufficient.

"9. With regard to the statement of Said bin Salem concerning the non-payment of the seventy-three porters, I have to remark that it was mainly owing to his own fault. The men did not refuse to accompany me because I wished to diverge from the 'correct route,' nor was I so unreasonable as to expect them to venture into the jaws of the slave trade. Several caravans that had accompanied us on the down-march, as well as the porters attached to the Expedition were persuaded by the slaves of Ramjee (because Zanzibar was a nearer way to their homes) not to make Kilwa. The pretext of the porters was simply that they would be obliged to march back for three days. An extra remuneration was offered to them; they refused it, and left in a body. Shortly before their departure Captain Speke proposed to pay them for their services, but being convinced that they might be prevented from desertion, I did not judge it advisable, by paying them, to do what would be virtually dismissing them. After they had proceeded a few miles, Said bin Salem was sent to recall them, on conditions which they would have accepted; he delayed, lost time, and ended by declaring that he could not travel without his dinner. Another party was instantly sent; they also loitered on the way, and thus the porters reached the coast and dispersed. Before their departure I rewarded the Kirangozi, or chief man of the caravan, who had behaved well in exhorting his followers to remain with us. I was delayed in a most unhealthy region for the arrival of some down porters, who consented to carry our goods to the coast, and to prove to them that money was not my object, I paid the newly engaged gang as if they had marched the whole way. Their willingness to accompany me is the best proof that I had not lost the confidence of the people. Finally, on arrival at the coast, I inquired concerning those porters who had deserted us, and was informed by the Diwan and headman of the village that they had returned to their homes in the interior, after a stay of a few days on the seaboard. This was a regrettable occurrence, but such events are common on the slave path in Eastern Africa, and the established custom of the Arabs and other merchants, whom I had consulted upon the subject before leaving the interior, is not to encourage desertion by paying part of the hire, or by settling for portage before arriving at the coasts. Of the seven gangs of porters engaged on this journey, *only one*, an unusually small proportion, left me without being fully satisfied.

"10. That Said bin Salem, and Ramjee, the Banyan, should have

appealed to Captain Rigby, according to the fashion of Orientals, after my departure from Zanzibar, for claims which they should have advanced when I refused to admit them I am not astonished. But I must express my extreme surprise that Captain Speke should have written two private letters, forcibly pointing out the claims of these men to Captain Rigby, without having communicated the circumstance in any way to me, the chief of the Expedition. I have been in continued correspondence with that officer since my departure from Zanzibar, and until this moment I have been impressed with the conviction that Captain Speke's opinion as to the claims of the guide and escort above alluded to was identical with my own.

"11. With respect to the last paragraph of Captain Rigby's letter, proposing that a shawl or some small mark of satisfaction should be presented by Government to Luddha Damha, the Custom-master at Zanzibar, for his assistance to the Expedition, I distinctly deny the gratuitous assertions that I was entirely dependent on him for money and supplies; that he advanced considerable sums of money without any security; that he forwarded all requisite supplies or, as Captain Speke affirms, that he afforded the Expedition every assistance in the most handsome manner. Before quitting Zanzibar for inner Africa, I settled all accounts with him, and left a small balance in his hands, and I gave, for all subsequent supplies, an order upon Messrs Forbes & Co. my agent in Bombay. He, like the other Hindus at Zanzibar, utterly neglected me after the death of Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton, and Captain Rigby has probably seen some of the letters of complaint which were sent by me from the interior. In fact my principal merit in having conducted the Expedition to a successful issue is having contended against the utter neglect of the Hindus at Zanzibar (who had promised to Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton, in return for his many good offices, their interest and assistance), and against the carelessness and dishonesty, the mutinous spirit, and the active opposition of the guide and escort.

"I admit that I was careful that these men should suffer for their misconduct. On the other hand, I was equally determined that those who did their duty should be adequately rewarded—a fact which nowhere appears in Captain Rigby's letter. The Portuguese servants, the negro gun-carriers, the several African gangs of porters, with their leaders, and all other claimants were fully satisfied. The bills drawn in the interior, from the Arab merchants, were duly paid at Zanzibar, and on departure I left orders that if anything had been neglected it should be forwarded to me in Europe. I regret that Captain Rigby, without thoroughly ascertaining the merits of the case (which he evidently has not done), should not have permitted

me to record any remarks which I might wish to offer before making it a matter of appeal to the Bombay Government.

"Finally, I venture to hope that Captain Rigby has forwarded the complaints of those who have appealed to him without endorsing their validity, and I trust that these observations upon the statements contained in his letter may prove that these complaints were based upon no foundation of fact.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"R. F. BURTON

"Bombay Army,

"late Commandant Equatorial African Expedition."

The answer was:—

"INDIA OFFICE E.C.,

"14th January, 1860

"SIR,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council, to inform you that, having taken into consideration the explanations afforded by you in your letter of the 11th of November, together with the information on the same subject furnished by Captain Speke, he is of opinion that it was your duty, knowing, as you did, that demands for wages, on the part of certain Belochs and others who accompanied you into Equatorial Africa, existed against you, not to have left Zanzibar without bringing these claims before the Consul there, with a view to their being adjudicated on their own merits, the more especially as the men had been originally engaged through the intervention or the influence of the British authorities, whom, therefore, it was your duty to satisfy before leaving the country. Had this course been followed, the character of the British Government would not have suffered, and the adjustment of the dispute would, in all probability, have been effected at a comparatively small outlay.

"Your letter, and that of Captain Speke, will be forwarded to the Government of Bombay, with whom it will rest to determine whether you shall be held pecuniarily responsible for the amount which has been paid in liquidation of the claims against you.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"(signed) J. COSMO MELVILL"

Burton replied:—

"January 1860

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official letter of the 14th January, 1860.

"In reply, I have the honour to observe that, not having been favoured with a copy of the information on the same subject furnished to you by Captain Speke, I am not in a position to understand on what grounds the Secretary of State for India in Council should have arrived at so unexpected a decision as regards the alleged non-payment of certain claims made by certain persons sent with me into the African interior.

"I have the honour to observe that I did not know that demands for wages existed against me on the part of those persons, and that I believed I had satisfactorily explained the circumstance of their dismissal without payment in my official letter of the 11th November, 1859.

"Although impaired health and its consequences prevented me from proceeding in an official form to the adjudication of the supposed claims in the presence of the Consular authority, I represented the whole question to Captain Rigby, who, had he then—at that time—deemed it his duty to interfere, might have insisted upon adjudicating the affair with me, or with Captain Speke, before we left Zanzibar.

"I have the honour to remark that the character of the British Government has *not*, and cannot (in my humble opinion) have suffered in any way by my withholding a purely conditional reward when forfeited by gross neglect and misconduct; and I venture to suggest that by encouraging such abuses serious obstacles will be thrown in the way of future exploration, and that the liberality of the British Government will be more esteemed by the native than its character for sound sense.

"In conclusion I venture to express my surprise, that all my labours and long services in the cause of African exploration should have won for me no other reward than the prospect of being mulcted in a pecuniary liability incurred by my late lamented friend, Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton, and settled without reference to me by his successor, Captain Rigby.

"I have the honour, etc., etc.,

"RICHARD F. BURTON"

After further correspondence, Burton wrote in July:—

"I am wholly at a loss to understand what may be the 'circumstances' ('under which the expedition into Central Africa under my charge was undertaken') that have prevented the Secretary of State for India in Council complying with my request to be refunded. Captain Speke and I have received the medals of the Geographical

Societies of England and France for that Expedition, and the Royal Geographical Society of London has officially expressed its opinion of the economy with which it was conducted by me.

"I can but conclude that the representations, or rather the misrepresentations of those whose interest it has been to prolong my absence from Zanzibar, have led to a conclusion by which I feel deeply aggrieved—namely, the non-recognition of my services by the Secretary of State for India in Council. And I venture to express a hope that when the civil proceedings which are now being instituted by me against Captain (local Lieut.-Colonel) Rigby,¹ British Consul at Zanzibar, come on for trial, this correspondence may be adduced to show how successfully this officer has exerted his malice against me.

"R. F. BURTON"

Sir Charles Wood wrote to the Bombay Government about this time:—

"I have perused with much interest the narrative of the expeditions of Saeed bin Habeeb into the interior. Captain Speke being now in Africa will doubtless have received a copy of this document from Colonel Rigby.

"I greatly regret to find that subsequent travellers have experienced difficulty in obtaining followers and have even been ill-treated consequent on the failure of the recent expedition commanded by Captain Burton to remunerate the persons who accompanied that officer. I trust that the subsequent liquidation (under your orders) by Colonel Rigby of the amount due may tend, in some measure at least, to efface the very unfavourable impression which appears to have been left on the minds of the people by the very questionable conduct of Captain Burton, and the tone of Colonel Rigby's letter of the 22nd March last gives hope that such will be the case."

(On November 4th Rigby noted in his diary that he had received "letters from Speke and Grant with copy of Burton's vile lying book," and on the 16th he addressed the following to Bombay:—

¹ I can find no trace of any such proceedings. Doubtless Burton was advised by his solicitors that they would not be to his advantage.—L. M. R.

"To H. L. Anderson, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, Political Department.

"Dated ZANZIBAR

"16th November, 1860

"SIR,

"A book recently published by Brevet-Captain Burton of Her Majesty's 18th Regt. Bombay N.I., entitled *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* contains so many gross calumnies, and imputes to myself and other persons such improper motives that I trust I may be excused for troubling His Excellency the Honorable the Governor in Council with the following statement.

"2. The chief point on which Captain Burton attacks me personally is, that I reported to Government his not having paid the hire agreed upon to certain persons who accompanied the Expedition under his command into Central Africa, and he states that in so doing I was actuated by 'private malice under the specious semblance of public duty.' In Vol. 2 Appendix 2 Captain Burton deems proper to publish my official letter on the subject to your address, No. 70 of 1859 Pol. Dept. dated 15 July and also an official correspondence on the subject between H.M. Under-Secretary of State for India and himself. And in the preface to his book he gives the following reason for publishing this official correspondence,—'The official matter has been banished into Appendix no. 2. The publishing it is to avoid the possibility of a charge being concealed in the pigeon-holes of the India House, to be produced according to custom with all the effect of a surprise whenever its presence is convenient. I know the conditions of appealing from those in office to a higher tribunal—I well know them—and I accept them. *Avant tout gentilhomme.*'

"3. Shortly after Captain Burton left Zanzibar to return to England in March 1859, the Kafilā Bashi, by name Said bin Salim who had accompanied Captain Burton during 22 months, and also the Head Clerk of the Zanzibar Custom House, by name Ramjee, who had furnished porters for the Expedition, complained that they had received no remuneration as agreed upon since the return of the Expedition.

"4. Captain Burton had mentioned one day at table in my house that on Ramjee asking him for the hire due to him for the men he had supplied, he told him that he had paid them thirty dollars each before the Expedition started, that he could have bought them for a less sum, and therefore should not pay them any more. At this time I was not aware that these men had been formally engaged at

the British Consulate by Lt.-Col. Hamerton, and as Captain Burton had received a grant of money through the Royal Geographical Society to defray the expenses of the Expedition, I did not consider that it could have been the intention of Government that Col. Hamerton should defray the hire of porters, Kafilā Bashi, etc., from Government Funds. I found no letter authorizing him to defray any part of the expenses, but he had been informed that Captain Burton had received a grant of money, and that he and Captain Speke had also been permitted to draw their Indian pay and allowances for two years.

"5. The Kafilā Bashi had been forbidden by Captain Burton to approach the Consulate and was therefore afraid to complain until after Captain Burton's departure.

"6. I think that the following extract from Captain Burton's book clearly proves that previous to starting on the Expedition he had determined not to keep faith with Ramjee regarding the hire of the porters and that his subsequent refusal to pay these men was in consequence of his previous determination.

"Extract (vol. i, pp. 20 and 21)—'I cannot plead guilty to not having understood the manœuvre, a commercial speculation on the part of the rascal Ramjee. Yet at times—need I say it—it is good to appear a dupe. It is wise when your enemies determine you to be that manner of sable or ermine contrivance into which ladies insert their fair hands to favour the hypothesis. I engaged the men—I paid the men—and mentally chronicled a vow that Ramjee should in the long run change places with me.'

"7. With respect to the seventy-two Uniamesi porters who were brought from their own country by Captain Burton, and who were in his employ for three months and received nothing whatever as pay during the whole of this time, it appears they were engaged for the return journey to the sea coast, and it being the custom of the country to pay the whole amount of hire agreed upon at the termination of the journey, they received nothing on starting. They always come direct to villages on the coast opposite Zanzibar, knowing they are not molested on these routes. On arriving at Khutu, a few days' journey from the sea coast, Captain Burton wished them to diverge from their usual route to the coast and travel south to Keelwa; they refused to do so, saying very truly, that their tribe never dare go to Keelwa as they would be seized and sold as slaves, and they were engaged for the direct journey to the coast.

"8. Whilst halted at Khutu Captain Burton wrote to me saying that he had stopped the issue of rations to these porters and en-

deavoured to starve them into compliance, but that they were such brutes, living upon white ants and roots grubbed up in the jungle, that he could not succeed, and thus these poor men, not one of whom had in all probability ever seen a white man before, returned to their own country without having received any remuneration whatsoever for their three months' labour. It is the intention of Captain Speke to make every endeavour to find out these men in Unjamesi and, if successful, to pay them liberally.

"9. Captain Speke had often talked to me about the manner in which Captain Burton had treated the men who formed their caravan, but as no official complaint had been made to me, I felt very unwilling to interfere, but one day, seeing the Belooch soldiers outside who had come to take leave, and that Captain Burton would not take the slightest notice of them, I remonstrated with him and told him that he would never get any man from Zanzibar to accompany him on another Expedition. He merely replied that he would never employ any man from Zanzibar, none but Arabs from Hadramaut.

"10. Soon after Captain Speke left Zanzibar he wrote me two letters on the subject of the non-payment of these men, and I then felt that it was my bounden duty to report the circumstances for the consideration of Government. In order to show how urgent Captain Speke was that I should endeavour to obtain justice for these men I beg with his permission to quote the following extracts from the two letters he addressed to me.

"Extract from a letter from Captain Speke dated at sea on board ship *Dragon*, April 6th, 1859.

"I am writing to you at this early stage of the journey to try and rid myself of a lurking depression and stinging of heart for Ramjee's sake. I have constant visions of his deploring, desponding look when I asked him if he considered he had received his proper dues in relation to those men—slaves of certain deewans—who adopting his name were sent as an escort to us whilst in Inner Africa. And the almost desponding reply "No, but it is no matter, the English Government is our Ma Bass, whatever they deem proper must be so." What is positively due to Ramjee by promise on engagement, without any conditions whatever, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars *per mensem* per man, for the time these slaves were actually with us, and they are by that promise now virtually entitled to pay at that rate for four months, for during that time they were positively doing our work. I consider it positively iniquitous that Ramjee should be cheated, and told Burton so more than once when talking over affairs inland, when he was for ever calculating the amount of deductions and cuttings

he could make in consequence of the bad behaviour of the slaves, etc. The pay proper of these men was five dollars a month, of which one half was to be retained by them and the other half by Ramjee to cover the loss of their services to him, or rather the Deewan, their proper master. Nobody could be so done out of his proper rights in any part of the world where I have been engaged in service, and I don't believe it could happen in any part of the British Dominions where there is no fear of appeal. You heard yourself how Burton disposed of the subject at your breakfast table one day, and I think now that you are fully aware of the whole matter you are in duty bound to see justice done to this unfortunate man. Excuse my saying so, for I thought you did not properly understand me at Zanzibar when telling you of the circumstance, or that you must have considered you had no right to interfere because Ramjee had not from fear, unknown to you, come forward and remonstrated.'

"Extract from a 2nd letter from Captain Speke, dated Aden, 20th April, 1859.

" 'I wrote a letter to you on board the *Dragon* lest I might not have had time on my arrival here to do so, considering attention to those deluded natives a matter of such moment, nay great necessity. I should be afraid to attempt a journey in from Zanzibar unless both men, viz. the Sheikh (Kafila Bashi) and Ramjee got what I proposed to Burton on arrival at the Coast, viz. that the former should have five hundred dollars, and that the latter was perfectly entitled to his 2½ dollars a man *per mensem*, as long as they were actually engaged in our service. Only think yourself what we are obliged for from all the men who accompanied us in a country where their desertion would have been our certain destruction, and by their fidelity what we have gained. . . .'

"11. In Appendix 2 Captain Burton states in a letter to H.M.'s Under-Secretary of State that these men rendered him no services and that he felt in no way obliged to them; and relative to the Belooch Sepoys he states, 'these men deserved nothing, I ignore their fidelity and perseverance, and I assert that if I passed safely through an unexplored country it was in no wise by their efforts.' But as a proof what a different opinion Captain Speke formed of the conduct of these men, in *Blackwood's Magazine* for July 1859 he states—'Further the Belooches by their exemplary conduct proved themselves a most willing, efficient, and trustworthy Guard, and are deserving of the highest encomiums; they with "Bombay" have been the life and success of everything, and I sincerely trust they may never be forgotten.'

"12. In the 2nd Official letter to Her Majesty's Under-Secretary

of State for India which Captain Burton publishes, he states 'the character of the British Government has not, and cannot have suffered in any way by my withholding a purely conditional reward when forfeited by gross neglect and misconduct, and I venture to suggest that by encouraging such abuses, serious obstacles will be thrown in the way of future exploration, and that the liberality of the British Government will be more esteemed by the native than its character for sound sense.'

"13. I beg to assure His Excellency the Honble the Governor in Council that the treatment these men had received from Captain Burton was very much and very unfavourably commented on here, particularly the case of the 72 Uniamesi porters who, trusting to the faith of the white man paying them fairly as the Arabs do, lost the fruits of their three months' labour, and the last words the late Dr Roscher¹ said to me on taking leave were that owing to the manner Captain Burton had treated his men, he had failed in obtaining a single person to accompany him. This he repeated to several foreign merchants, and he went to Keelwa without a single follower.

"14. In par. 11 of Captain Burton's first letter to H.M.'s Under Secretary of State he says, 'With reference to the last para. of Captain Rigby's letter proposing that a shawl or some small mark of satisfaction should be presented by Government to Luddah Damha, the Custom Master at Zanzibar for his assistance to the Expedition, I distinctly deny the gratuitous assertions that I was entirely dependent on him for money and supplies, that he advanced considerable sums of money, that he forwarded all requisite supplies, or, as Captain Speke affirms, that he afforded the Expedition every assistance in the most handsome manner. He like the other Hindoos at Zanzibar utterly neglected me after the death of Lt.-Col. Hamerton.'

"15. In reply to the above, I beg to state on my arrival at Zanzibar I found that a sum of Rupees 5,600 was due by Captain Burton to Luddah Damha for payments which he had made on account of the Expedition, every article for which an order had reached him had been purchased and forwarded to him by Luddah Damha, and there was no other person here except him who would have taken the trouble to purchase and pack supplies and hire porters and send them at his own risk into the interior, trusting to the uncertain return of the Expedition for payment, and before the Expedition started he went himself to the Coast of Africa and with his clerks had all the trouble of procuring the porters, animals, etc., and arranging their loads, etc. Two months after my arrival, thinking it hard that Luddah should be losing all interest on the amount due

¹ See pp. 222-223.

to him, I wrote to Messrs Forbes & Co., Captain Burton's Agents, and having explained the circumstances requested them to pay the amount due to Luddah, and they did so.

"16. I have made this lengthened statement on this subject lest it might be supposed from Captain Burton's extraordinary assertions that I had induced the Government to disburse money in paying these men which was neither earned nor deserved. Captain Burton had been my guest during his stay with me, an unfriendly word had never passed between us, I parted from him in the most friendly manner, and after his arrival in England he ends a letter to me as follows—'If I can be of any use to you, I shall be most happy. Believe me, ever yours very sincerely, (*signed*) R. F. BURTON.' And afterwards in consequence of my having reported the non-payment of these men to Government he deems proper to insult me in his book in very vulgar and ungentlemanly language.

"17. Captain Burton states—'Lieut.-Col. Hamerton had repeatedly warned me that by making inquiries into the details of profit, I was exciting the jealousy of the natives and foreigners of Zanzibar. According to him the mercantile community was adopting the plan which had secured the foul murder of M. Maizan, the Christians had time to alarm the Banians, and the latter were able to work on the Wasawahili population.'

"This foul libel on a body of honourable men, who showed Captain Burton every kindness and hospitality in their power, has caused great indignation amongst the foreign merchants residing here; they all knew that Lieut.-Col. Hamerton was the last person in the world to accuse them of such an atrocious intention; there has always been the most friendly feeling between Her Majesty's Consul and Naval Officers visiting this port and all the foreign merchants excepting the French slave traders. Captain Speke states in a Pamphlet recently published by him, 'The merchants of Zanzibar were not less hospitably inclined and constantly entertained and gave very handsome dinners.'

"18. Captain Burton states—'My field and sketch books were entrusted to an Arab merchant who preceded me to Zanzibar, they ran no other danger, except from the carelessness of the Consul who unfortunately for me succeeded Lieut.-Col. Hamerton' (vol. i, p. 320).

"19. I beg to assure His Excellency that the above statement is entirely devoid of truth; every paper I found on my arrival at Zanzibar in any way connected with the Expedition, and everything that was received from it was taken the greatest care of, and nothing was either lost or ran the slightest risk of being lost. When Captain

Burton was embarking for Aden I discovered a paper he had left in the room he had occupied; it was delivered into his own hand before he stepped into the boat.

"20. Captain Burton also states in his book—"The turbulent Harisi Chiefs of Zanzibar were terrified into siding with H.M. the Sayyid Majid by the influence of H.M.'s Consul, Captain Rigby; but the representatives of the several Christian Powers could not combine to preserve the peace, and M. Ladislas Cochet, Consul de France, and an uninterested spectator of passing events, thought favorably of H.M. the Sayyid Thowenee's claim, he believed that if consulted the people would prefer the rule of the elder brother, and he could not reconcile his conscience to the unscrupulous means—the *force majeure*—which his opponent brought into the field."

"21. I would respectfully suggest that such remarks coming from an officer in the Service of Her Majesty's Government may do great harm, and may be cited by the French Government as a proof of the disinterested conduct of their own Consul, and of the unscrupulous conduct of the British Consul in the affairs of Zanzibar, and I trust that His Excellency in Council will not approve of the attack thus made upon my conduct by Captain Burton at a time when he was residing in my house and daily hearing from me the true state of affairs.

"22. Captain Burton states his reason for not having explored the Rufigi river as follows—"The Hindu Banians who directed the copal trade of the river regions aroused against us the Chiefs of the Interior." I beg to state that this accusation against the Banians has not the slightest foundation; when Captain Burton reached Konduchi on the sea coast, he wrote to me to procure him a Buttela and a supply of provisions, wines, etc., and send it to Konduchi. I immediately did so, and the late Dr Roscher took passage in the Buttela to join Captain Burton; but after being one day with Captain Burton, Dr Roscher left on foot, accompanied by only one African boy, and without saying where he was going. It afterwards appeared that Dr Roscher travelled on foot to the river Rufigi and explored its course for a considerable distance, sounding and surveying its banks. On his return to Zanzibar he spoke in the highest terms of the great hospitality and kindness he everywhere met with from the Banian settlers, and on some of them visiting Zanzibar he brought them to my house, and begged me to thank them in his name. Captain Burton went in the Buttela to the mouth of the river Rufigi, and I was informed did not land there, or make any endeavour to do so, but sent for some of the principal Banians to come on board, and having, as was his custom, made notes from what they told him, sailed away."

“23. Captain Speke in the Pamphlet above quoted, speaking of the Banians on the coast of Africa, states—‘Nothing could exceed the mingled pride and pleasure these exotic Indians seemed to derive from having us their guests. Being Indian officers they looked upon us as their guardians, and did everything they could to show they felt it so.’

“24. As a proof that Captain Burton is not just towards the men he abuses so much throughout his book, I beg to state that the Kafilā Bashi Said bin Salim who was with Captain Burton on the former Expedition has been selected by Captain Speke to accompany him in the same capacity, and is behaving to his entire satisfaction, and that the Jemadar of the Belooch Escort and several of the Beloochees who formed Captain Burton’s Escort have been selected by Colonel the Baron von der Decken to accompany him as a Guard on the journey to the Lake of Nyassa.

“I have the honor to be,

“Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“(signed) C. P. RIGBY, Lt.-Col.

“Her Majesty’s Consul and British Agent,

“Zanzibar

“BRITISH CONSULATE

“ZANZIBAR

“November 16th, 1860”

“To H.M. Secretary of State for India, London.

“Dated BOMBAY, 27th March, 1861

“RIGHT HONBLE SIR,

“We have the honor to forward the accompanying copy of a letter from H.M.’s Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar, No. 73 dated the 16th November last, submitting a refutation of certain misstatements regarding his character contained in Captain Burton’s recent work entitled *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*.

“2. In transmitting this communication we would express our opinion that Colonel Rigby has fully vindicated himself from the aspersions of Captain Burton. We trust that Colonel Rigby, who is an officer of the highest character and most unblemished honor, may receive from H.M.’s Government an assurance that his reputation has, in its opinion, been in no degree affected by Captain Burton’s untrustworthy statements.

“3. We also take this opportunity of submitting a transcript of

another letter from Colonel Rigby,¹ with its enclosed communication from Mr Apothecary Frost, the Medical Officer attached to the Zanzibar Consulate, complaining of the manner in which his character has been assailed in Captain Burton's work.

"4. We have caused Mr Frost to be informed that his character, professional and private, has, in our estimation, in no way suffered from Captain Burton's remarks.

"5. We would add that Captain Playfair, the Assistant Political Resident in charge of the Aden Residency, has also protested against certain statements made in Captain Burton's work with reference to the proceedings of the Authorities at Aden. Transcripts of Captain Playfair's representation and of our resolution thereon were forwarded to the Home Government with our Political Consultations for the month of September last.

"We have, etc.

"(signed) GEORGE CLERK

"HENRY REEVES

"W. E. FRERE

"BOMBAY CASTLE

"27 March, 1861"

¹ The letter was as follows:—

"SIR,—I have the honour to forward for the information of His Excellency the Honble the Governor in Council the accompanying letter from Mr Apothecary Frost the Medical Officer attached to H.M.'s Consulate at this Port, complaining of the manner in which his character both professionally and morally is unjustly assailed in a Book recently published by Brevet-Captain Burton of H.M.'s 18th Regt. Bombay N.I.

"2. Mr Frost has been a resident at Zanzibar for several years, and he is much respected and esteemed by all the foreign merchants residing here. I know that my predecessor, the late Lt.-Col. Hamerton, had a very high opinion of his professional skill and general character, and I believe him to be a very meritorious servant of Government; during severe fevers I have always found him to be particularly attentive and skilful, and he naturally feels much hurt at the unjust attack thus publicly made upon him by Captain Burton.

"3. In Vol. I, Pages 3 and 21 of his book Brevet-Captain Burton distinctly charges Mr Frost with having caused the death of Col. Hamerton by improper medical treatment, and at Page 21 he taxes Mr Frost with having knowingly made away with a packet he had entrusted to his care.

"4. On my first arrival at Zanzibar I frequently heard the foreign Residents here talk of Mr Frost's unremitting attentions both day and night to Captains Burton and Speke when they were both suffering from very severe fever, and Captain Speke still feels very grateful to him for his constant attention to him. I am therefore at a loss to account for Captain Burton thus assailing his character, unless it be that he maligns every individual with whom he came in contact during his late Expedition.

"I have, etc.,

"C. P. RIGBY"

Rigby also conceived it his duty to write a letter of warning to the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, Dr Norton Shaw. This gentleman's position was certainly difficult, for Burton had sent him the MS. of his book and had made friends with him. He showed Burton Rigby's letter, no doubt with a view to hearing his defence. This drew from Burton a school-boyish effusion:—

“14 ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, LONDON

“16th *January*

“SIR,—I have been indebted to the kindness and consideration of my friend Dr Shaw, for a sight of your letter addressed to him the 10th of October last from Zanzibar. I shall not attempt to characterize it in the terms that best befit it. To do so, indeed, I should be compelled to resort to language ‘vile’ and unseemly as your own. Nor can there be any necessity for this. A person who could act as you have acted must be held by everyone to be beneath the notice of any honourable man. You have addressed a virulent attack on me to a quarter in which you had hoped it would prove deeply injurious to me; and this not in the discharge of any public duty, but for the gratification of a long-standing private pique. You sent me no copy of this attack, you gave me no opportunity of meeting it; the slander was propagated, as slanders generally are, in secret and behind my back. You took a method of disseminating it which made the ordinary mode of dealing with such libels impossible, while your distance from England puts you in a position to be perfectly secure from any consequence of a nature personal to yourself. Such being the case, there remains to me but one manner of treating your letter, and that is with the contempt it merits. My qualifications as a traveller are, I hope, sufficiently established to render your criticisms innocuous, and the medals of the English and French Geographical Societies may console me for the non-appreciation of my labours by so eminent an authority as yourself. As regards my method of dealing with the natives, the complete success of all my explorations, except that which started under the auspices of Brigadier Coghlan, will perhaps be accepted as a better criterion of its correctness than the carpings of the wretched sycophants whom you make to pander to your malignity at Zanzibar. Where the question between us is one of personal veracity, I can hardly think that your statements will have much weight with those who are aware of the cognomen acquired by you at Addiscombe, and which,

to judge from your letter now under notice, I think you most entirely, richly deserve. I have only to add, in conclusion, that I shall forward a copy of this letter to Dr Shaw, as well as to my publishers, and to Government—you mention your intention of writing to them—and that I shall at all times, in all companies, even in print if it suits me, use the same freedom in discussing your character and conduct that you have presumed to exercise in discussing mine.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"RICHARD F. BURTON

"CAPTAIN C. P. RIGBY"

Later, when incensed by the ovations received by Speke and Grant on their return, Burton's idea of humour was to leave a visiting card on the table of the Royal Geographical Society inscribed:—

"Two loves the Row of Savile haunt,
Who both by nature big be;
The fool is Colonel (Barren) Grant
The rogue is General Rigby."

That Rigby was elected to the Council of the Royal Geographical Society and remained on it for many years is sufficient evidence of what that body thought of Burton's aspersions on his character.

Passages in Burton's book *The Lake Regions of Central Africa* (1860) relating to him are as follows:—

Vol. ii, p. 267. There is a reference to his "private malice."

Vol. ii, p. 380, on the Burghash Rebellion—

"The turbulent Harisi chiefs of Zanzibar were terrified into siding with H.H. the Sayyid Majid by the influence of H.M. Consul, Captain Rigby. . . . M. Ladislas Cochet, Consul de France, an uninterested spectator of the passing events, thought favourably of H.H. the Sayyid Suwayni's [i.e. Thowanee] claim, he believed that the people if consulted would prefer the rule of the elder brother and he could not reconcile his conscience to the unscrupulous means—the *force majeure*—which his opponent brought into the field."¹

¹ This makes delightful reading after all we know of Monsieur Cochet from previous chapters! In *Zanzibar*, vol. ii, p. 351, we find further, "M. L. Cochet energetically and conscientiously rejected all compromise"—in the matter of the shipment of slaves to Bourbon as "free labourers."

Vol. ii, p. 381. "I felt myself too conversant with local politics, and too well aware of what was going on, to be a pleasant companion to its [the Consulate's] new tenant."

On sailing on March 22nd. "Captain Rigby, however, finding his boat too crowded, was compelled to omit accompanying us—a little mark of civility not unusual in the East. His place, however, was well filled up by Seedy Mubarak Bombay, whose honest face appeared at that moment, by contrast, peculiarly attractive."

(Bombay was the only servant for whom he ever had a word of praise, though that was by no means unqualified. See vol. ii, pp. 173, 236–237.)

A further similar passage in *Zanzibar*,¹ published 1872, is in vol. ii, p. 368, concerning arrival at Zanzibar during the Rebellion:—

"The French Consul, whose protection had been sought by Sayyid Majid, held to the doctrine that all peoples have a right to elect their rulers. The loss of Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton was severely felt; the English Consul who succeeded him was a new man, reported generally to be not indifferent to self-interest. The U.S. Consul refused to take any part in the matter. . . ."

In *The Lake Regions*, vol. i, p. 21, a serious charge was brought:—

"I confided to Mr Frost's care two MSS. addressed through the Foreign Office, one to Mr John Blackwood, the other to Dr Norton Shaw of the R.G.S. As the former arrived in safety, whilst the latter . . . was lost, I cannot help suspecting that it came somehow to an untimely end."

And on p. 320:—

"My field and sketch-book were entrusted to an Arab merchant, who preceded me to Zanzibar; they ran no other danger except from the carelessness of the Consul who, unfortunately for me, succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Hamerton."

¹ In this work there is reptilian subtlety in Burton's speciously "generous" tribute to the memory of Speke with its strong hint at suicide. As is well known, Speke was killed by the accidental discharge of his gun while out shooting in 1864. There was no evidence or suspicion whatever of suicide.

With reference to the lost MS. Rigby received a letter from Frere dated February 6, 1865:—

“DEAR COLONEL RIGBY,

“I saw some time ago some remarks by Mr Burton upon the loss of some MS. which he had sent to the Secretary of the Geographical Society, which had got as far as Zanzibar but could not be traced further. I am sorry I cannot lay my hand upon it, but perhaps you know where to find it, or perhaps you never notice any of Mr Burton’s remarks. In either case however you will be glad to hear that when searching the strong box of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society two days ago I found a parcel, apparently a book, directed to the Sec. Geographical Society, Whitehall Place, London, with R. F. Burton in the corner and a request in pencil that the parcel should be sent through the Secretary of State, Foreign Office. I did not know how that was to be done, but I sent it to the Chief Secretary to Government, who will by the next mail forward it to its destination. You will probably be glad to have this information as it shows that the parcel (if this be it) got beyond Zanzibar and out of your hands.

“I have not been able to find how or when or by whom the parcel was sent to the B.B.R.A.S.”

Yet Burton, instead of having the decency to withdraw his charges in his later book, observes in a footnote referring to the discovery of the missing MS.:—

“Mr Frere’s memory is unusually short. I intrusted the MS. to the Eurasian apothecary¹ of the Zanzibar Consulate, and I suspected [*Lake Regions*, vol. i, chap. i] that it had come to an untimely end. The white population at Zanzibar had in those days a great horror of publication, and thus is easily explained how a parcel legibly addressed to the R.G.S. had the honour of passing eight years in the strong box of the ‘Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.’ ”

So instead of withdrawing his accusation against Rigby, he extends it to Bartle Frere!

In *Zanzibar*, p. 370 of vol. iii, we find:—

“I have related in a former volume how the change at the British Consulate affected me personally. My report to the Secretary of the R.G.S. had not been forwarded, and no one knew where it was.

¹ I.e. Mr. Frost.

The sketch and field books which we had sent in case of mishap from the interior were accidentally found stowed away in some drawer. A mistaken feeling of delicacy made me object to be the bearer of despatches which would have thrown a curious light upon certain intrigues, and no feeling of delicacy on the part of the person complained of prevented his devising an ignoble plot and carrying out the principle, 'Calumniari audacter, semper aliquid haerebit.' The Home Branch of the Indian Government embraced the opportunity of displaying under the sham of inflexible justice—*summum jus summa injuria*—peculiar animus, and turned a preoccupied ear to explanations which would have more than satisfied any other."

Of Burton's abnormal and morbid mentality, of the consuming jealousy which racked him, of his lack of the finer feelings which characterize the typical Christian gentleman even though, like Burton, he may not profess Christianity, of his want of consideration for the weaker, of his impish *Schadenfreude*,¹ of his inhumanity, arrogance and contempt, of the venom in which he dipped his pen his own writings and many passages in the huge tomes which Lady Burton consecrated to her "Earthly Master, who is waiting for me on heaven's frontiers" give ample evidence. He says himself that he reached Zanzibar on March 4th suffering from "utter depression of mind and body." During the whole period of his African expedition almost the only persons to escape his malignancy were Colonel Hamerton—a dying man—and his "kind friend" M. Cochet, a man condemned by his own Government for his irregularities. In *The Lake Regions* he refers to the comrade of his journeys as not "an accurate astronomical observer," and says, "he was unfit for any other but a subordinate capacity." Speke had been described by the War Office authorities before the expedition as "a most intelligent, superior officer" quite fit to take charge of the expedition until Burton should be able to follow. His success on his own expedition with Grant sufficiently refuted Burton's jealous

¹ A German word which is practically untranslatable, meaning "pleasure in another's distress," but usually applied to trifling troubles, e.g. the pleasure of seeing a stout gentleman chasing his hat in a March wind. With Burton it is more serious.

judgment. Dr Krapf is accused of "political intrigues." Bitter comment is made on Captain R. L. Playfair and the political authorities at Aden who in 1855 "thwarted all my projects." In *Zanzibar* (1872) he attacks the Chaplain at Aden, "whilst the apathy of the highest political authority—the Resident [Brigadier Coghlan]—and the active jealousy of his assistant, Captain Playfair, all contributed to thwart all my views, and to bring about, more or less directly, the bloody disaster which befell us at Berberah."¹ . . . "The Right Honble the Governor General of India, the late Lord Dalhousie, of pernicious memory, thought more of using our injuries to cut off the slave trade than of doing us justice . . . the spoliator of Oude was pleased to inform us . . .," etc. In the same work are contemptuous, uncharitable criticisms of his host Herr Rebmann, whom he humorously (?) styles "Dutchman," and of Dr Roscher, whose appearance he vulgarly mocks at. Such are but instances of his outlook. In the African he saw only his worst qualities, and would admit no good—he is unimprovable, selfish, indolent, parsimonious, mendacious, wilful, headstrong, undisciplinable; in point of stubbornness and restiveness he resembles the lower animals; he is hard-hearted, inhuman, never happy except when in dispute, drunken, cowardly, immoral, greedy, voracious, unwashed, curious, rough, peremptory, ever at heart a treacherous and blood-thirsty barbarian. More furious shrews than his women are nowhere met with. Father and son become natural enemies. The old traders, Burton says with approval, remarked in Guinea that the best way to treat a black man was to hold out one hand to shake with him while the other is doubled ready to knock him down.² His comment on a slave caravan

¹ For the reason why the Somaliland Expedition failed so unhappily, see Speke's *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, pp. 109, 112, etc.

² See Lady Burton's *Life*, Appendix, pp. 578–590. How different were Speke's and Livingstone's judgments of the Africans! For example: "Whatever then, may be said against them . . . we should rather reflect on ourselves, who have been so much better favoured, yet have neglected to teach them, than on those who, whilst they are sinning know not what they are

(*The Lake Regions*, p. 62) is merely, "the slaves brought from the interior were tied together by their necks, and one obstinate deserter was so lashed to a forked pole with the bifurcation under his chin that when once on the ground, he could not rise without assistance." Then, facetiously, "These wretches scarcely appear to like the treatment; they were not, however, in bad condition." What a contrast to Livingstone's or to Rigby's consuming pitifulness! Again, "The *servum pecus* retain in thralldom that wildness and obstinacy which distinguish the people and the lower animals of their native lands; they are trapped but not tamed. . . . However trained, they are probably the worst servants in the world. . . . The wretches take trouble and display an ingenuity in opposition and disobedience, in perversity, annoyance and villainy, which rightly directed, would make them invaluable. The old definition of a slave still holds good, 'an animal that eats as much and does as little as possible' " . . . with much more lavish outpouring of words to describe "the brutishness of negroid nature."¹ It is clear that Burton's sympathies are far more with the slave owner than with the slave. Lady Burton quotes him (p. 358) as referring to "the sentimentalism of Wilberforce and Buxton," and as saying, "Such cant I hold to be in their mouths who talk of 'the sin and crime' of slavery." And she says (p. 429): "When I first arrived [in Brazil], Richard used always to laugh at me, because I was so miserable at the way the cruel people treat the blacks—just in the same way that I . . . feel about doing. To say a negro is incapable of instruction is a mere absurdity, for those few boys who have been educated in our schools have proved themselves even quicker than our own at learning." (*Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, Introduction.) And: "We do not believe in any incapacity of the African in either mind or heart. . . . In reference to the status of the Africans among the nations of the earth, we have seen nothing to justify the notion that they are of a different 'breed' or 'species' from the most civilized. The African is a man with every attribute of human kind. Centuries of barbarism have had the same deteriorating effects on Africans as . . . on certain of the Irish. . . . And these depressing influences have had such moral and physical effects on some tribes, that ages probably will be required to undo what ages have done." (*The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, p. 596.)

¹ See *The Lake Regions*, vol. ii, chap. xix.

the treatment of animals—and he kept saying, ‘Oh, wait a bit, till you have lived with negroes a little; you philanthropic people always have to give in.’ ”

As regards his veracity, she tells us he himself said that as a boy he “was ‘a resolute and unblushing liar: I used to ridicule the idea of my honour being any way attached to telling the truth. . . . I never could understand what moral turpitude there could be in a lie, unless it was told for fear of the consequences of telling the truth, or one that would attach blame to another person.’ ”¹

Even to his wife he was lacking in a decent sense of honour. He would mesmerize her and “he used laughingly to tell everybody, ‘It is the only way to get a woman to tell you the truth.’ I have often told him things that I would much rather keep to myself.” In view of this it is not surprising that his dealings with his followers were less than honourable, as illustrated on his return to Zanzibar. Of an earlier occasion Speke narrates:—

“Another difficulty arose in consequence of our donkeys dying faster than their loads were consumed, so that we could not have proceeded had not some of Ramjee’s slaves carried some loads for us. Our supplies were already too short for our journey; nevertheless Captain Burton said he would pay them if they carried our loads.

“They did so; but Captain Burton, on my saying we should find it difficult to keep faith with them, mildly replied, ‘Arabs make promises in that way, but never keep them; and, moreover, slaves of this sort never expected to be paid.’ I grew angry at this declaration—for I had seen Tibet ruined by officers not keeping faith with their porters—and argued the matter, but without effect.”²

On his own servants and followers Burton showers abuse and ridicule. For example he writes of his interpreter “. . . his

¹ See Livingstone’s *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, 1858–1864, p. 602:—“The assertion of Captain Burton that Mohammedans alone make proselytes in Africa is not correct; and we believe that in making it he rather intended to shock the prejudices of those whom he thought weak-minded than to state a fact.”

² John Hanning Speke, *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1864.

semi-servile breed—his dam a slave and his sire a half-caste.” He knew no gratitude for natives. The Beloochees whom he afterwards treated so badly had on one occasion found him lying by the roadside prostrate with fever and, notwithstanding that they had been on strike, took compassion on him and brought him into camp.¹ For the very scenery his eye is equally jaundiced:—

“Africa’s aspect, at once hideous and grotesque . . . monotonous to the eye and palling to the imagination . . . black, greasy ground. . . . The earth, ever rain-drenched, emits the odour of sulphuretted hydrogen, and in some parts the traveller might fancy a corpse to be hidden behind every bush . . . a wild sky . . . chilling gusts . . . or a dull, dark-grey expanse . . . atmosphere pale and sickly . . . filthy heaps of the rudest hovels . . . sheltered their few miserable inhabitants, whose frames are lean with constant intoxication, and whose limbs, distorted by ulcerous sores, attest the hostility of Nature to mankind. Such a revolting scene is East Africa from central K’hutu to the base of the Usagara Mountains.”¹

It would be easy to say more, but the above should be sufficient answer to Burton’s spiteful animadversions.

¹ John Hanning Speke, *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1864.

² *The Lake Regions*, vol. i, pp. 91–92.

CHAPTER XV

LEAVE IN EUROPE, 1862, 1863. RETURN TO INDIA

WHEN Rigby left Zanzibar, he was accompanied by a little rescued slave-boy, for whom he had been unable to trace any relatives or find a suitable family as substitutes. He belonged to the Irahow tribe, which occupied country between Lake Nyassa and the coast. When asked his name, he would only call himself "Tembo," which in his language meant "elephant." For many years he was an almost inseparable companion, travelling with my Father wherever he went and treated almost like an adopted son, as we may infer by messages to, or inquiries after, him in letters. As his youngest sister, Mrs Gardner, took more interest in the child than any other of the family, Rigby allowed her to have him made a member of her own Church, the Roman Catholic—to which he always remained faithful—and to arrange for his education at a convent school. No doubt Rigby took him to meetings and to soirées in London not only as an object of ethnological interest, but to arouse sympathy with the slaves whose sufferings still filled his heart. Along with Tembo he brought another, rather younger, boy he had rescued, a member of a coast tribe, or had him sent subsequently—for there is only casual mention of him in the diaries. European life did not suit him and he was sent back to Zanzibar. The two boys were photographed together for the *Illustrated London News*, which gave an account of them, and four or five paragraphs descriptive of Zanzibar and the slave trade from information supplied by Colonel Rigby (July 4, 1863). Interest had been aroused by their appearance at the Royal Geographical Society's reception of Speke and Grant, and at a Royal Institution Soirée at which the Prince of Wales was present. They also accompanied the Colonel to a soirée of the Ethnological Society at the United Service Institution, and appear for a week or two to have been lion-

cubs of the London Season! Francis George Tembo, when his education at the convent was finished, remained with my parents for some years as a confidential servant, but the climate of London tried him too severely, and he at last returned to Zanzibar. He remained a faithful retainer of the Consulate to the end of his life, and was especially appreciated by Sir Gerald Portal, who took him on the expedition to Uganda in 1893. Twice he accompanied the Consul to England, and was then a frequent visitor at our house. After my Father's death he went on writing to my Mother on an average every two months. His letters from Uganda were of special interest, and Edwin Arnold, to whom they were lent with her permission by Grant, wrote that he would gladly have printed them in the *Daily Telegraph*, "had it been allowed." When Tembo died we learnt that in his will he had left to my Mother all his small possessions—small, because he had always been of a generous nature, and had delighted in giving presents. Affectionate, humble-minded, unassuming, loyal, intelligent, deeply grateful—George was a shining example of what sympathy, respect and education may make of the primitive African.

At Aden, reached on November 18th, Rigby stayed two nights with Captain Playfair, the Assistant Resident. He found it "the same dirty, dismal, God-forsaken place" he had known when stationed there. After eight days at Cairo, he proceeded on his journey with Sir Robert Colquhoun, the Consul General, and Mr Bellasis. A fellow-passenger on the steamer on which he and Bellasis took passage for Trieste was the Comte de Chambord with his suite, whom he characterized in his diary as "a poor, dirty, cowardly set. Henri V a perfect idiot, in a state of abject terror the whole voyage because the sea was rough and stormy."¹ For three days heavy seas were

¹ In February 1820 the second son of the Comte d'Artois, the Duc de Berry, the only person to carry on the main Bourbon Line, was assassinated. But a few months later a posthumous son, later the Comte de Chambord or Henri V, was born to him. From the age of ten he lived in Austria, an exile, till 1883. In 1873 the Legitimists (adherents of the older Bourbon

breaking over the vessel and the French did not stir out of their cabins.

He stayed long enough in Vienna to renew acquaintance with the Ambassador, Lord Blomfield, and various old friends, not forgetting his German Master, and after halts in Strassburg and Paris arrived in London with poor Tembo so dangerously ill from the cold of December that for some days his life was despaired of. In January, Rigby's father died in his eighty-eighth year.

A series of visits in England occupied the spring, and the Season he passed in London. Travels in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, including a visit to the O'Swalds in Hamburg, followed, but he was again in England from November to March 1863.

Staying at Nice on his way to Italy, he remarked that the dinners were very poor, the meat tasteless and tough, the bread very inferior, the wines detestable, the chairs vile, the town very dirty, the stinks powerful and universal both in and out of the houses, arising from bad drainage—in fact the sole recommendation being a delightful climate, with which the hotel landlords of the time thought visitors ought to be satisfied. After a stay in Florence, he drove slowly on to Rome with his friend J. L. Evans and his wife and sister. He was immensely interested in the antiquities and art of the country and, delighted with the scenery, left in his journal very full descriptions of all that pleased him. Naples, Pompeii and Sorrento were also visited. On the return journey through Paris he witnessed a review by the Emperor of the French of his African troops.

Again he was in London for the Season. Little Tembo was to do him credit, for on the first day he ordered for the boy a blue *zouave* suit at £3 10s., six pairs of white trousers, a Line) and Orleanists (adherents of the Line of Louis Philippe) united in selecting him as the head of the Monarchy they aimed at restoring, provided the throne should pass from him to a grandson of Louis Philippe. But a disagreement over the flag broke the union; Henri v refusing to recognize the Tricolour, and holding to the white flag with its clerical associations. (See Eduard Fütter, *Weltgeschichte* 1815-1920, Zürich, 1921, and Lord Frederic Hamilton, *The Days before Yesterday*.)

dozen shirts, four white jackets, etc. The days were well filled with visits, and walks with old Service friends, dinners, receptions, entertainments—e.g. the Ghost at the Polytechnic—and the like. As a representative day, let us take:—

“June 15th. Called on Lord Campbell. Went to the Royal Exhibition of Paintings with Tembo. Walked with him in the Park. Dined with Mr Griffiths in Great Cumberland Place. Went to Sir Roderick Murchison’s Soirée at Willis’s Rooms. Had a long talk with Bishop Colenso, Buxton, etc.”

On June 17th Speke and Grant arrived at Southampton, and he went on board their ship to welcome them, and got up an Address, which was presented by the Mayor. During the remainder of his stay in London he was seeing them nearly every day, and sometimes they dined with him at the Oriental Club. He attended a great dinner given to them by the East India United Services Club, and towards the end of July he went up to Scotland with them, and travelled and visited there until September.

On November 26th, after a most miserable passage from Suez—“the heat, stench and bad food beyond description”—he was back in Bombay. Having been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of Boundary Disputes in the Territories of the Independent Chiefs of Kattiawar and Kutch, he left on January 15th for Rajkote and Korenar. A letter to a friend gives the best account of the period which followed.

“May 2nd, 1864

“... Just after I wrote to you, I was offered the command of the 4th Rifles by the Commander-in-Chief, but the same day the Governor offered me the appointment I now hold, viz. Commissioner to settle the boundaries of the Gaekwar territories and those of the Nowab of Joonaghur in Kattywar. They have been quarrelling about the boundaries during the last 50 years. The pay is R. 1,750 a month, and it will probably take me two years to settle all their disputes. I have to travel about all the fair season, and live at Rajkote during the rains. This place—Korenar—is 140 miles from Rajkote, about 4 miles from the sea. It is cool, but a very wild, barbarous

country. Kattywar might be the garden of Western India. The soil is very rich, and there are rivers and streams in abundance, but no roads. Not a farthing of the revenue has ever been spent in the country, and the people are in a miserable, barbarous state. Grain and all necessities of life are now at famine prices, and the poorer classes are in a fearful state of distress, without food or clothes. I am getting quite reconciled to Indian life again; it is rough work living in tents, and getting no bread or vegetables, but I have very good health and am quite my own master. My old Regiment, the 16th, is now at Rajkote, so I shall find old friends there and have the mess to attend.

"You can't imagine what a change has come over Bombay; it is dirtier and more stinking than it ever was, cholera and smallpox are always raging, there is no sign of any material improvement, not a decent building erected anywhere. The natives are wallowing in wealth, which they do not know what to do with; they occupy all the finest houses, drive fine carriages with servants in grand liveries, and quite cut out the Europeans in everything. They no longer show the slightest respect to Europeans, and the present system is to flatter and pamper these greasy, fat Banians, call them all Esquires, make them Justices of the Peace and Fellows of the University. Fancy the people voting a statue to that fellow —, who was known to be in correspondence with the mutineers in '57. And Mr — of the *Bombay Times*, for always trumpeting the virtues of the natives, has got from them a subscription of a lac of rupees! He came out as an agent for C—, the wine-merchant, was dismissed, then set up as a merchant, became bankrupt, then Sub-Editor under old B—. The Bombay Railway appears to be completely disorganized. Instead of assisting to develop the trade of the interior, they have lately issued a notice that they won't receive cotton for carriage to Bombay. There is an immense amount of gambling in Bombay in all sorts of bubble companies, and I fancy there'll be a great smash some day. Almost every merchant seems to get up a Bank or a Shipping Company. As long as cotton keeps so dear, I suppose things will go on smoothly, but the crisis must come some day. The Jews are now the rising people in Bombay and have the finest houses.

"Tembo is quite well and seems happy enough. He goes out shooting every morning, and keeps the table supplied with partridges, pigeons and peacocks. And there is a river close by in which he fishes and swims, and he has a pony to ride. A good many African slaves are still brought to Kattywar for sale. I have sent a Report to Government about it. I have rescued a small African boy here from slavery, and shall try to get him sent to England. I shall probably find some

family going home who will be glad to get him as a servant. Kattywar is full of mercenary Arabs. There are 400 independent Chiefs in the Province, each of whom keeps up a number of these turbulent vagabonds.

"Part of the disputed territory I have to settle is the great Cheer Forest, about 90 miles long and 40 broad. It swarms with lions and tigers and deer of all descriptions. It commences twelve miles inland from here. In consequence of the malaria no one can enter it from June to December.

"If I can stand two years more of this life, I think I shall have had enough of it, and come home again. The Indian services are completely broken up and ruined. I can't think how the country will be governed in a few years hence if we keep it,¹ I hope for P.'s sake that he may never come to reside at Bombay. It is a horrid place in every way. There is no society or amusement of any sort there now. . . . I shall be very glad to get into a house again after five months of tents. The greatest nuisance here are the snakes, which drop or spring from the trees as you pass under them. Tembo found one in his bed one night, and we have killed two here each ten feet long. You are just getting the fine summer weather, and here we have the grilling month to be followed by four months of perpetual rain. Well, time soon passes, and I shall be very glad to see old England again. . . . With love to all the little ones, . . ."

On May 29th he returned to Rajkote for the monsoon. The usual rainfall failed almost entirely, and famine ensued, involving distress and starvation most painful to witness. In such straits were the people that old stores of grain buried for thirty years were opened and, although black, rotten and stinking, the stuff was eagerly devoured. From November 10th for a month he was at Balacherry on the Gulf of Kutch. Then he stayed for a few days at Nowanuggur before proceeding to Mandavie, the chief sea-port of Kutch, where he was engaged for a considerable time in investigating the rival claims of the Rao and the Jam of Nowanuggur to the sovereignty of the five Chakka Islands, the nearest point of which was twenty-one miles from Mandavie. The dispute had arisen in 1857 in reference to some boatloads of firewood, and became more acute when

¹ Was there ever a period when the old Indian officer did not talk and write in this strain? *Eppur si muove.*

in 1862 the Jam¹ began to levy an anchorage fee from Kutch vessels taking refuge at the Islands. A valuable pearl-fishery was carried on there during the four months of the rainy season, and the real aim of the Rao seems to have been to get the royalty transferred to himself. Intricate legal points were involved, and Rigby had to search through Government records for the preceding sixty years. The evidence showed conclusively that the Rao of Kutch had no claim to the Islands, and at the end of February the Special Commissioner was able to submit the results of his investigation to Bombay. The Governor in Council entirely concurred in his conclusions. To the judgment was added however the stipulation that Kutch shipping should be allowed to use the anchorage without fee or molestation.

Rigby was *persona grata* with both disputants. His original diary for the early weeks of 1865 runs as the following extracts:—

“Jan. 1st. Went on a hunting excursion with H.H. the Rao of Kutch.

“2nd. Out shooting all day with the Rao and George. Shot eight wild boars.

“9th. Called on the Rao.

“13th. Called on the Rao, who gave a grand Natch.

“14th. The Rao called on me to take leave.

“18th. To-day I complete 29 years in the Service and 45 in this miserable world.

“23rd. Letter from Dr Livingstone.

“24th. Left Moondra pier at midnight.

“25th. Becalmed at sea.

“26th. Arrived at Nowanuggur.

“28th. Dined with the Jam.

“31st. A Natch and dinner with the Jam.

“Feb. 6th. Dined with the Jam.

“12th. Received a letter from Frere about Burton’s missing packet of papers having been discovered in Bombay.

“19th. Rescued five poor African children from slavery, and got the Arab slave dealer imprisoned.

“20th. A Natch at my house attended by the Jam and his family.

Vibhaji—who eventually adopted “Ranji” as his heir. See further below.

"21st. Finished my Report on the Chakka Islands.

"22nd. Sent official to Keatinge about the slave trade in Kattiawar.

"26th. Dined with the Jam and had a Natch afterwards."

After this he was concerned with boundary disputes between the States of Baroda and Jamnuggur, staying at Balumba, Mana Mora and Hurriana. It was a very wild, unhealthy district of saline marshes bordering the upper part of the Gulf of Kutch, and storms of wind, dust and rain made life very unpleasant, and induced attacks of fever. Finding his health failing, he applied for leave to Europe. He was back in Nowanuggur at the end of March, and dined with the Jam once more on the eve of his final departure.

In this amiable and enlightened Prince he made a real friend. Through all the years till death severed them, Rigby and the Jam, though they never met again, continued to correspond. Ignorant of British official discipline, the Jam had been surprised at the absolute refusal when he showed Rigby his treasure-chambers and bade him plunge his hands into the trays of Chakka Island pearls that lay before him. And when he learnt of his marriage, he remembered the episode, and sent my Mother a year after the event a beautiful pearl necklace as a wedding gift.¹ Again, many years after, interested in some mention by my Father of his youngest child, he sent a little string of pearls with emerald and diamond clasp with a request that it should be given to me on my sixth birthday. Some of his letters may be found in Appendix VIII. They testify to his care for the welfare of the people he governed.

The insight gained by Rigby at Zanzibar stood the unfortunate Africans in India also in good stead. He had already observed that there was a considerable traffic in slaves at the ports of Kattiawar, and that Africans were frequently seen in the country, when a native of Zanzibar, a Sepoy in the service of the Jam, informed him secretly that an Arab had arrived with five African children, three boys of from six to eight years and two girls of about ten. On his request the Jam

¹ Rigby was then, of course, on the retired list.

instantly had the Arab arrested and sent the slaves, almost naked, and suffering from an insufficiency of food, to Rigby, who undertook to care for them. The Sepoy was rewarded with a hundred rupees, half from Rigby, half from the Jam. These children, shipped from Zanzibar and purchased at Muscat, were the second importation made by the Arab within four months. On arrival in India they had been kept in a broker's house for eight days locked in a room together, and not allowed to leave it for any purpose whatever. Rigby ascertained that except for a boy he had rescued the previous year, no African had ever been delivered from slavery in these provinces during the British superintendence of upwards of fifty years, so that the majority of the inhabitants were quite ignorant that traffic in slaves was forbidden and punishable. Consequently a considerable number were imported and conveyed inland for sale in Baroda, Hyderabad and the larger cities in various Native States, and unless measures were taken to stop so profitable an enterprise, the evil was likely to increase. Rigby suggested to the Political Agent in Kattiawar the means by which he believed it could be easily suppressed, and his report to Bombay was confirmed by this officer with the remark, "The officers of this Agency have . . . for years been in the difficult position of being obliged to choose what part of their duty they should perform and what leave undone, and it is not astonishing that they have shut their eyes to an evil which they saw no prospect of being able to grapple with." The thanks of Government were conveyed to Rigby and to the Jam¹ and the payment of a reward of fifty rupees to the informer of every future importation of slaves was sanctioned as the former had suggested. He was allowed to keep the boys with him for a time, as George Tembo was of the same tribe and was taking good care of them.

In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves in 1876, Rigby gave some account of what he had seen

¹ The Jam had been so interested in the children that he had sent for them and given them presents of clothing and sweetmeats.

of the slave trade in Kutch, which, with Kattiawar, he had found so full of African slaves that they were on sale in all the towns. On the same occasion he also stated that he knew positively that a great number of African slaves were taken to Bombay in dhows, and there sold to be taken into the interior of India. The women, he said, could not claim their freedom because they were veiled and not allowed to speak to anybody, and the boys were carried off before they had sufficient knowledge to understand that they might be free. In India there was no one to understand their Swahili language.

Rigby left Bombay on April 14th and landed at Southampton on May 12th. Early in July he attended the wedding of Captain Wilson, R.N., at St Heliers, and on the 25th that of his friend the explorer Grant, to whom he acted as "best man" on the occasion.

CHAPTER XVI

SPAIN, 1866. MARRIAGE, 1867

HENCEFORTH Rigby scarcely kept a diary except during periods of travel on the Continent. In August 1865 he went to Switzerland with his friend Iredell,¹ accompanied by Tembo. The following year he started again with Iredell, but without Tembo, in March, and travelled leisurely to Pau, at which point his journal becomes interesting for its description of impressions made on a traveller in Spain seventy years ago.² At Pau, adopted by some four hundred English families as a winter residence, he regarded as drawbacks "the poor, dull, gloomy hotels so characteristic of France, in which the majority of visitors are in various stages of consumption, victims of the detestable, vile climate of the British Isles. Then the number of bilious, undigesting Yankees, the ill-paved, dirty streets, and the very debilitating nature of the climate to persons in good health."

In Castile all the towns and villages were showing the effects of civil war in their half-ruined, deserted appearance. And nothing could exceed the dreary, bleak appearance of the country. Not a tree, not a green meadow, was to be seen, villages and country alike were brown—and this in April. Burgos, standing in a vast treeless plain, was deserted, decaying, its castle in ruins, its people too proud and too lazy for progress, its only claim to notice the beauty of its Cathedral. A snow-storm raged on the journey, still over barren, desolate country, to Valladolid, again a dirty, miserable, ruinous, ill-built place, as full of rogues, beggars and fleas as any other Spanish city, a type of the whole kingdom in its fallen condition. Once it was the capital of Spain, the seat of the Court of Philip II,

¹ Retired later as General.

² I omit, in reference to this journey as to others, all descriptions of works of art, etc., which are unchanging. Needless to record, e.g., Rigby's enthusiasm for the picture gallery in Madrid.—L. M. R.

who used to hold *autos-da-fé* in the Gran Plaza, at a time when burning Protestants alive was as favourite a pastime for the Spaniards as bull-fights became later. Fourteen were usually roasted at each exhibition, the King and Queen and all the Court attending, and the tickets of admission selling at high prices. Then Valladolid was the most populous and prosperous city in Spain; now its shops contained only the commonest and coarsest goods, and its people, "a poor sickly, mangy set," reminded Rigby of the pariah dogs of Indian towns. Madrid was at this time the most unhealthy city of Europe, its bad climate being aggravated by the entire absence of a drainage system, which was the cause of sickening odours in both houses and streets. Its inhabitants themselves described the climate as nine months of winter and three of hell ("nueve meses de invierno, y tres de infierno"). The little River Manzanares, which ran dry in summer, in winter supplied the drinking-water and washing-water, soapy and greasy, for the dirty linen of the entire city was washed in it as well. Some of the street names were surprising, for among them were Calle Jesus y Maria, Calle Amor de Dios, Calle Santa Spiritu, Calle Madre de Dios, all radiating from the Piazza Lave Pies, or Washfeet Square. There was no Cathedral or fine church, only small, mean ones built into the streets, and no good church music was to be heard. Nothing was more striking than the apparently entire absence of all religious observance. Religion seemed to have entirely gone out of fashion and Sunday to be observed only as a sort of "Greenwich Fair" day. No church bells were heard; the shops were all open; booths for the sale of gingerbread and toys were erected in the streets. Fiddlers, organ-grinders, vendors of cigarettes, matches, oranges, cold water, cheap newspapers, programmes of the theatres and bull-fights, beggars, ragged boys and girls were all shouting and screaming, and the streets were "crowded with idlers sunning themselves and hunting their fleas and other carnivora." After midday the theatres, dancing-halls, cock-pits and other amuse-

ments began. The bull-fights also were always on Sunday afternoons.

"Although the Bull Circus holds 12,000 people, the tickets are all bought up in advance, and if the day be fine sold at double prices. The bull-fight . . . is a disgusting, cruel sight. There is very little excitement in it, for the wretched bulls have no chance. They are teased and tormented until they are quite exhausted, and are then stabbed to death with swords. The disgusting part is seeing the miserable old horses gored and ridden about the circus with their entrails trailing on the ground. They are still ridden after being repeatedly gored, until they drop dead. The riders make the bulls gore the horses purposely, as the taste of the spectators demands the death of a certain number of horses at each performance. This is a modern barbarity. Twelve horses and six bulls are usually sacrificed at each performance. We saw one horse continue to be ridden after its entire stomach was out, and the rider after taking it out came in to a fresh bull riding the same animal with its wounds sewn up but minus its stomach. Nothing stamps the brutal, depraved character of the Spanish people so much as the universal popularity of these disgusting exhibitions, and yet the pious Empress has endeavoured to introduce this barbarous spectacle into France. The feeling of the French is, however, too much opposed to it, and the Senate has been petitioned not to permit any bull-fights in any part of France."

The only fine building then to be seen in Madrid was the Royal Palace, other houses being for the most part badly constructed of rubble and mud, plastered over and covered with yellow or blue wash. The opera house and the twelve theatres were of poor appearance. The only drive was the Prado, a long straight, sandy road, with avenues of stunted trees on each side. In the afternoons this and its continuation the Fuente Castellana were crowded with carriages, and the side avenues with pedestrians. The ladies were very handsomely dressed, all wearing the graceful mantilla, and many were beautiful.

The only manufactures of the city were wax matches and cigarettes, and not a Manila cheroot or Havana cigar was to be found in any shop. Still more curious, good wine was not

to be procured, the only two Spanish wines available being a light red wine and a light dry sherry the price of which was double that charged for it in England.

"In this unhappy land, so unblessed by nature, and in which man is seen in a state of decadence unexampled in the history of any country in the world, with the exception of Persia, there are no green lanes or meadows, no pretty scenery, no song birds, every little greenfinch and bullfinch being shot for food. The staple food of the entire population is a mess of boiled beans called 'Gabanzos' with a bit of bacon or garlic sausage to flavour it. As may be expected from such a diet, the men are generally undersized, lean and herring-gutted; a comfortable, well-lined John-Bull-looking stomach is seldom seen in Spain. The habit of smoking is universal and perpetual. The waiter who answers your bell at the hotel, the beggar who appeals to you for a Quatro, the boy crying matches for sale, the diner at a table d'hôte—all have a cigarette constantly in their mouths. During dinner the men take a whiff between each mouthful, but I never saw women smoking as they do in Russia. Like Italians, the Spanish women have very harsh voices; the soft feminine voice of the northern races is never heard. The women often have moustaches, and not infrequently beards.

"The Arabs held possession of Spain for nearly 800 years, and have left their impress everywhere. The mixture of Arab blood is very marked in the features of the people, more particularly of the women. One-eighth of the Spanish language is pure Arabic. The names of streets, public buildings, towns, rivers and public offices, of trades and occupations are mostly Arabic. The style of building, of the shops, the manners and customs of the people constantly remind one of the East. Whatever Spaniards may have been three centuries ago when their country occupied the first position in Europe, there is no doubt that at present, owing to a false and most vicious religious system, a Government vile in the extreme, and their own inherent laziness, they are behind all other nations in Europe, and there appears no hope of their future as a nation, unless the country be occupied and governed by France.

"Spain exhibits the strange example in modern times of a nation nominally Christian rapidly retrograding into a state of barbarism, superstition and gross ignorance."

Toledo again, once the residence of the Court of Charles V, he found miserable, decayed, half-ruined and stinking, a

collection of mean houses with narrow, crooked streets much resembling those of an Indian or Arab native town, in spite of the imposing appearance given it from a distance by its Moorish gateways and castle. At Saragossa he was as impressed as in Madrid by the fact that on Sunday no church-bells were heard, and that there was no music in the churches and cathedral, where indeed he found for the most part only many importunate beggars and a few old women at their devotions.

"The interior of the Spanish cathedrals is very dark, and the transepts being built up form a sort of interior church, which is enclosed by iron railings. The congregation are not admitted within the transept, and therefore take no part in the Service performed by the priests. At Saragossa I remarked that the people were all kneeling with their backs to the altar whilst the priests were performing Mass. The present practice of religion in Spain is an extraordinary mixture of idolatry and superstition. It has very little Christianity or reverence for the Almighty about it. No respect is paid to the churches. At Saragossa dogs were wandering about in the Cathedral unmolested. At Pamplona one of the finest churches, 'La Merced,' which adjoins the Archbishop's Palace, is now used as an infantry barrack, another was filled with cavalry forage. There are no seats whatever in Spanish cathedrals or churches, and they are kept so dark no one can see to read in them. The object of the priesthood is to prevent the laity taking any part in the services of religion, to accustom the people to employ the priests to pray for them. In the archives of the Cathedral at Saragossa is an account of the expenses incurred for the representation of a mystery acted in the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella. Among the items are 'six sueldos for wigs for the Prophets,' 'ten sueldos for six pairs of gloves to be worn by the Angels,' 'Ditto for gloves for God the Father.'

"In Spain the Virgin always wears the Royal Crown and ranks as a Queen. She has a household composed of the greatest ladies in the Kingdom, who take care of her wardrobe, altars, chapels, processions, etc. She has also vast landed estates called 'Los bienes de la Virgen,' which are administered in her name. Our Saviour is treated as a constitutional King, and when the Host passes any barrack or guard-house, the guard turns out, presents arms, and the Royal March is played.

"In the cathedral at Pamplona over one of the altars is a figure of

the Saviour with a red neck-tie tied in large bows, and in modern European costume.

"To this day the Queen, whenever any addition to her family is expected, wears the old shirt of some reputed saint, the girdle of another, etc."

At the morning mass in one fine cathedral the congregation consisted of three peasant women with market baskets, and many stray dogs and beggars.

The Spanish inns were at this time very bad indeed, dirty, and full of evil smells.

"You enter a dark passage, no one appears. You grope your way upstairs, and find stretched at full length in some corner an unwashed, greasy waiter, smoking a cigarette. The landlord never appears; he is too proud, as if ashamed of his calling, as is frequently the case in England."

In Navarre the travellers found things considerably more advanced, and the people superior in physique and intelligence, though it was there, in Pamplona, that in the sixteenth century ten thousand Jews were, it is said, burnt alive in the square in honour of a royal marriage.

Railway travelling in Spain, though slow, was quite comfortable even in the second class, and the fares were very moderate.

A few days' mountaineering in the Pyrenees, and the charm of Arcachon in spring consoled Rigby for the least pleasing of all his ventures in travel, and he returned refreshed to the "usual vile weather" of an English June.

In July, with Iredell and Ellis, he rowed from Abingdon to Windsor. Their longest stretch was from Wallingford to Henley, twenty-six miles. In August, again accompanied by Tembo, he travelled in Switzerland, returning via Heidelberg, Frankfurt, etc., in the middle of September. The weather on the Continent that summer was as bad as in England. On the way back to London he passed a fortnight at the Pavilion Hotel at Folkestone, and I believe it was during this period

he became engaged to Miss Matilda Prater, whom he had met at dances at her grandfather's house in Portland Place.

In November he sailed for the last time for India, reaching Bombay in twenty-one days from Paris as against the ninety days from Plymouth and many more from Gravesend occupied on his first voyage to that port more than thirty years before, in the reign of William IV. The Commander-in-Chief offered him the command of the 4th Rifles, but he declined, stating his reasons, and at his own request was placed on General Duty with no appointment. His health was not equal to further risks and he had not returned with any intention of remaining in the Service.¹ After some farewell visits to his old Regiment and various friends, he sailed from Bombay, again as two years before, on April 14th, his heart doubtless full of the great adventure before him. Eighteen years later on that same date he was to embark on the one voyage that is even fuller of glorious possibilities than the adventure of embarking on a journey that was to end in an ideally happy marriage.

In the big journal he playfully recorded:—

“On the 27th June, in most lovely summer weather,

“I GOT MARRIED

“an event which, although apparently slight and unimportant in itself, yet much reduces the power of wandering about the world at will, deprives the victim of much independence, and is frequently followed by a molly-coddling, lunch-eating, tea-drinking, baby-nursing, uneventful state of existence, varied only by the periodical visits of the Parish rate-collector and the Dustman.

“After the wedding-breakfast, which I much enjoyed, having a good appetite, we went to Leamington.”

After a honeymoon of travel in Derbyshire, etc., and a fortnight in London, my Parents went to Paris to visit the great Exhibition. The city was excessively crowded, and only very uncomfortable accommodation could be had.

“At this time Napoleon was at the very zenith of his power and influence, kings, emperors and princes from all Nations flocking to

¹ In England he could do more in the cause of the African slave.

Paris. He little foresaw then that in three short years his downfall would occur, and he himself be a fugitive from France."

More than three months of travel in Switzerland, Germany and Austria succeeded. A few extracts from the diary will suffice.

"Sept. 21st. Walked seven and a half miles to Ramsau. Found the Wirthshaus recommended by Baedeker a very dirty place, so returned to the Baths about a mile away, where we got a very good dinner, with a chatty landlord in green velvet tights, a pretty waitress in the now seldom seen national costume, and a Swedish young lady smoking strong cigars. Walked back to Berchtesgaden for supper.

"23rd. At Munich. . . . We visited the Cemetery, where the dead are exposed in rooms with bells tied to their hands to give alarm in case of resuscitation. Rows of little dead babies. One young lady laid out splendidly dressed. . . .

"26th. We met the two Aunts at Munich, and wishing out of politeness and excessive complaisance, peculiar to the newly wedded, to show them some of the lovely scenery we had so recently revelled amongst. . . .

"Oct. 16th. Left Vienna, having paid 120 Gulden for a silk dress. Arrived at Pest, and stayed four days. T.'s newly purchased Viennese cloak was greeted with exclamations of 'Ach! wie schön!' from the astonished natives, showing that they approved of the good taste which chose the garment.

"Oct. 24th. At Prague. . . . To the Jewish Synagogue, which has not been swept out for 700 years, and contains the most venerable fleas in Europe.

"Nov. 16th. To Rheims. Hotel very comfortable, with potatoes wonderfully fried such as I have never seen elsewhere."

CHAPTER XVII

POST-RETIREMENT CONNECTION WITH ZANZIBAR

RIGBY retired in 1867 with the rank of Major-General. During the years that remained to him his main interest was in working directly or indirectly to secure the total abolition of the African Slave Trade. To this end he kept actively in touch with all who took an interest in Zanzibar, this being easy, as his advice and opinion were constantly sought.

In 1867 a rumour was current that Livingstone had been killed, but he refused to credit it, and allayed the fears of many who failed to understand the grounds for hope as well as he could. Four years later (December 1871) he took part in a discussion of the Royal Geographical Society on how best to get in touch with Livingstone, and said the only means would be to send an enterprising English traveller from Zanzibar with a small armed party.

To 1868 belongs a letter from Dr¹ Kirk giving some account of how things were going on at Zanzibar:—

“ . . . I do hope soon to see a more vigorous policy for suppression of slave trade. This year the Arabs have had it all their own way, our ships being engaged further north during the Abyssinian War. My experience of the Arabs is just your own, that they are all liars, and Suliman bin Ali, the real Sultan and only man to go to if you wish anything done, is decidedly no exception. He would now try to persuade us that the slave trade diminishes, while enormous numbers have been sent north. The Sultan has issued a few manifestos against Northern Arabs. Of course you look on that as waste paper; so do I, unless we have British ships to enforce them, and do it too against the will of the Arabs.

“Majid's health is very doubtful. He is always weakly, sometimes at death's door, but comes round. Still he has the confirmed, worn, anxious face of an old debauchee. If he were to die now, I imagine Burghash would come into power, and with him Abdul Azeez.

Afterwards Sir John.

Burghash is now a very intelligent liberal man, outspoken and quick, but a man of energy, and very well disposed to us. The Sultan resents my intimacy with Burghash, whom he has never forgiven.¹ He has prohibited all persons going near his house even saluting him, and even the European Consuls (English excepted) have found it convenient to keep away. Failing Burghash in the succession, I know of none of the Seyd family likely to take a lead. . . .

"My own idea is that the whining sneak Suliman bin Ali aims at nothing less than Sultan. . . . My own impression is that the present Sultan will go off suddenly when he does, and may do so any day.

"French influence now is not great. Old Jablanky² lives quietly, gets into a periodic state of excitement and cools down again, but does nothing. Indeed he is capable of nothing but the most paltry intrigue.

"If carried out, the proposed separation of political work from India to the F.O. will work a deal of good. Chance after chance has been lost since I came here for want of an undivided opinion to act on, and India takes but little interest in slave suppression, which after all is now the only work left at Zanzibar beyond routine consular affairs.

". . . We have no mails for four months—a more out of the world place never existed.

"Excuse this hurried scrawl.

"Believe me

"Ever yours very sincerely

"JOHN KIRK"

In November of the same year an Embassy from Majid arrived to appeal against the order for the payment of the subsidy to Muscat and adjust outstanding questions. At the Sultan's special request, the Embassy was placed under Rigby's charge by the Foreign Office. He took rooms for the Envoys, whose visit lasted from November 9th to December 18th, at the Langham Hotel. He accompanied them and interpreted for them wherever they went—to call on Lord Stanley, on Sir Stafford Northcote, on the Duke of Argyle at the India Office, to the Reception of Foreign Ministers by Lord Clarendon on his taking office, to a meeting of the Royal Geographical

¹ Surely forgiveness was much to ask after Burghash's attempts at assassination?

² The French Consul.

Society,¹ of which he was always a most interested and prominent member, serving on the Council almost uninterruptedly from 1868 to his death, and often taking part in the discussions. On this occasion the President spoke of the Sultan's good will towards English explorers and merchants, and of his assistance to Livingstone. He requested Rigby to write a letter in Arabic to be sent to the Sultan

"by the envoys to thank him for his great services. General Rigby pointed out that without the Sultan's aid it would have been impossible for Burton and Speke, and Speke and Grant to have undertaken their journeys. Nothing could exceed his kindness. He sent Speke and Grant over to Bagamoyo in one of his finest ships of war in order to impress upon the natives that these Englishmen were under his special protection. The territory under his sway extended 1,100 miles along the east coast of Africa, and comprehended a rich extent of the interior. There was no native state, he said, on the coast of Africa that could exercise so vast a power for good or for evil, and upon which so much depended for the future of that great continent. It was certainly fortunate it was ruled by such an enlightened young prince. He had also supported all Christian missions, not only that of Bishop Tozer, but the French Mission, which was doing a great deal of good in educating the people. Majid had always been anxious that education should be introduced among his subjects."

On the last day of the Envoys' visit he went with them in the Queen's yacht from Southampton to Cowes, and thence in Court carriages to Osborne to see Her Majesty. He acted as interpreter in her conversation with them. In gratitude for these services, Majid sent him the following year through official channels a complimentary letter accompanied by a gold-mounted sword of honour, a piece of gold-embroidered cloth, and an elephant's tusk of unusual length and weight.² A letter from Churchill partly concerns this:—

¹ At a meeting in February 1866 he read the report on Baron von der Decken referred to above (chap. xiv) and gave an account of the Somalis and Gallas, and of the geography of the river Juba or Govinda. He spoke on Somaliland again in 1871, pointing out the wealth and political importance of the country, increased by the opening of the Suez Canal. He believed the Somalis to be of African origin.

² Kirk, Dispatch, 1869.

"CAPE TOWN

"18th May, 1869

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Knowing Zanzibar as you do, you will not feel surprised to learn that I have been suddenly obliged to fly from the place to save my life. It was very inconvenient for me to leave Zanzibar at the time I did, but the saying that 'a live dog is better than a dead king' is applicable to my case. All the medical men of Zanzibar¹ were agreed on the main point that my life was not worth a straw if I remained there any longer, so I packed up and here I am on my way home.

"Previous to my departure the Zanzibar ambassadors returned from England, and they were loud in your praises, . . . I am the bearer of a sword of honour and sundry other presents for yourself and Mrs Rigby, which I hope to have the pleasure of handing over to you when I reach England. In the mean time a splendid tusk, weighing 162 lbs., with your name on it both outside and in the hollow part of the tooth, has been shipped for you by the Sultan's orders. Its value is about £60, but its main beauty consists in its size. . . ."

In 1871 Rigby gave evidence at great length before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the East African Slave Trade. In reference to Sultan Majid, who had died the previous year, he said that his attitude depended a great deal upon the circumstances which he happened to be in at the time. When he was in want of our assistance, he would act very fairly, and do anything Rigby wished. At other times, when he thought there was no danger of rebellion, he would not. After the great danger had passed, he became very much annoyed by the more active proceedings of our cruisers, and at last he got into a very bad temper, and would not assist us in any way.²

¹ Note the advance implied in this phrase. So few years before the Eurasian Consular Apothecary, Mr Frost, was the sole medical man of Zanzibar.

² Playfair in 1865 wrote of Majid, "His character is naturally weak; he has never been out of Zanzibar save to Muscat, and he has no idea of a better-governed country than his own. . . . I must however do him the justice to say that he has of his own accord made several seizures of slaves about to be exported." And in another dispatch of the same year: "Saiyid Majid . . . is amiable and kind-hearted to a fault, really anxious to do all he can to oblige everybody, but so ignorant, weak and vacillating as to be

He characterized Arabs as passionate and hot-tempered, but not cruel like the French or the Portuguese in their treatment of their slaves. Asked what he thought of the terms of the Treaty which the Slave Trade Committee of 1869 recommended should be negotiated with the Sultan, he replied that he did not think any treaty would have the slightest effect, for treaties with Arabs were mere waste paper. It would, he said, be easy to get rid of the present Treaty by saying it had never been observed by the subjects either of the Sultan of Zanzibar or of the Imam of Muscat.

Two or three years before, Lord Campbell had carried a motion in the House of Lords to appoint a Consul at Mozambique. It was a most unfortunate circumstance that that had never been acted on. Not only had we no Consul at Mozambique, but the Consulate at the Comoro Islands had been abolished, so that from Zanzibar to Port Natal there was nobody to watch British interests or to interfere with the Slave Trade. In consequence of the ports of Madagascar having been thrown open to foreign trade since the death of the old Queen, there was such an immensely increasing trade in the products of that Island that the French had begun to import slaves very largely, in order to cultivate their rich land.

(When the Committee referred to the suggestion made by some of the witnesses that the Sultan might be induced to give up the Slave Trade if the forty thousand dollar subsidy to Muscat were remitted, Rigby expressed his conviction that he would never fall in with that arrangement. When the Mission was in London, that had been a point which its Secretary had urged upon him more than any other. He said the Sultan would rather give up the country, and go to live

hardly fit to govern his country. He never stirs from his house, he has no idea of the state of the country, and he squanders the little revenue he has on the most unworthy objects, not because it gives him pleasure to do so, but simply because he does not know how to refuse. . . . The bridges which his father built, the roads throughout the Island, and even the palaces which he does not himself occupy, are either in ruins or falling into decay . . . [owing to] the fatal apathy which, day by day, is taking stronger hold on him."

at Mecca for the rest of his days. For he would look upon it as a great humiliation, and it would be so considered by all the Arabs, who would say, "There is the Sultan of Zanzibar become a paid servant of the Feringhee," so that he would probably lose his life. Rigby could not see on what ground the Sultan could be supposed to be entitled to compensation for giving up the horrible slave trade which had been carried on for years in defiance of treaties and in defiance of all laws. Suppression, he affirmed, would not cause a revolution, for the Arabs were prepared for it. It would not interfere with commerce in the slightest degree. There would be abundance of free labour because thousands of people would come to live at Zanzibar. The loss of revenue would be trivial. If the Indians, as reported, were going to take advantage of the Naturalization Act to throw off their allegiance to the British Government on purpose to be able to trade in slaves, that would open a new field for slavery. A great proportion of the plantations on the Island now belonged to British subjects, owing to the fact that the Arabs were so dissipated and reckless that they had mortgaged most of their plantations to wealthy Banians or Indian Mohammedans. These would now buy slaves and cultivate their plantations with slave labour. But, he said, he was convinced the German Consul would cordially co-operate with us in stopping the export of slaves, and that this might be effected within five years.

A long letter from Kirk, dated 1872, contains some interesting comments on the condition of affairs at Zanzibar:—

"... Old Ludda¹ seems to me to have been doing a strange sort of business. For some time before his death he had with the Sultan six lakhs out at interest, with the American houses three lakhs, with the French three lakhs—all are questionable credit. . . .

"I got him settled with the Sultan, and effected an arrangement with Fraser [American], but Bombay Government seems quite displeased that I did either. The Bombay Government said it was most important for them to see Burghash with a good income. This

¹ The Banian Customs Master, a British subject. See above.

is indeed a strange way of protecting British interests, but it seems to me that the whole object of the Bombay Government is to reduce our influence, and so in time excuse themselves from all concern with these places. Thus I am told again to reduce as much as possible the list of British-protected Indians, because, as they say, while it is no matter to India whether this or that one gets his rights, it is important that the Indian Government should not get into disputes with native princes. After such an open expression of policy, what next? In your time the British protégés were the great influence—take them away, and we are second-rate . . . besides being hated for anti-slavery notions. . . . } }

“ . . . Burghash has followed too mean and shabby a plan ever to be popular. He is a just judge, and the corruption of Majid’s time is quite unknown, but that goes for nothing when he never gives a copper even to those of his subjects, such as head men on the coast, who are independent in point of fact.”

“Bakashmir talks of making a journey to his country, to Hadrawait. He is always ready for a slave, and I believe keeps his money all in foreign hands, and his town property well covered in the mortgages so as to be ready to walk off any day. He is Burghash’s chief adviser and Secretary, but has no confidence in his honour. He refuses to call on or meet with white men, or be agent sent to the Consulate, for fear of being blamed when misunderstandings occur.

“Burghash places confidence in no one, and no one has much confidence in him. He still keeps his brother, Khalifa, prisoner, and shows no sign of releasing him. I suppose he knows well that his own position under open arrest was a real danger to Seyd Majid, and does not wish to expose himself. Besides he feels that he is most unpopular, especially with his old allies, the El Harth. . . . He has foolishly given these men no consideration, probably because he knows how little they cared for him personally. However, it is most impolitic to show such men that they are understood, and it is in these things Burghash fails as Sultan.

“The remaining younger brothers are a standing danger also; they are all poor, uneducated, conceited boys. They think as Seyids they are of another race from all other Arabs, affect to despise the wealthy chiefs, and yet are only company for slaves.

“For the good of the country it is to be hoped that Burghash may live on until some of these lads leave the world, but there is no certainty that the Kingdom will hold together through another generation unless a total change takes place.

“ . . . I fancy the Sultan will sooner or later send to England some

one as Ambassador to settle points under discussion . . . and, if he does, it will be most important to get the agent in proper hands. If this goes further, I will write at once, and you, being on the spot, are sure to be mixed up in it—in fact you will have to explain what is needed. Only think of Suliman bin Ali and of the old Boo-Seyd discoursing at Exeter Hall on the Slave Trade!”

In April 1874, Rigby was deputed by the Royal Geographical Society to receive Livingstone's body on arrival at Southampton and make the necessary arrangements. His companions were Colonel Grant, Mr Webb of Newstead Abbey, the African hunter, Oswell Livingstone, Henry Stanley and the Rev Horace Waller. After a visit to the ship and a procession which occupied an hour and a half through dense crowds from dock to station,¹ they returned to London by special train. For two days Rigby was occupied from morning till night arranging for the funeral and issuing the invitations to attend. It took place in Westminster Abbey on April 18th.

On May 9th he again went to Southampton, this time to receive Envoys from the Emperor of Morocco, of whom he had charge during their visit. They were Said Hajee Abder Radman, Civil Governor of Tangier, Said Abdallah, Chief of Artillery, Said Abd al Saleem, A.D.C. to the Emperor. For two months he was greatly occupied with them, accompanying them on all their official and social visits, for example to parties given by Lady Frere and Earl Russell, and on their sight-seeing expeditions. They observed the Mohammedan hours of prayer very strictly, and having forgotten the passage of time at the Zoo, were led by my Father to a corner of the old terrace above the bears' dens, where their devotions caused some sensation among the few who witnessed them.

¹ The *Standard* correspondent narrated:—"Then comes General Rigby, whose presence here at this moment proves the deep sympathy which most Englishmen entertain for the cause for which Livingstone lived and died—namely the abolition of slavery throughout East and Central Africa. While Political Resident at Zanzibar, General Rigby released eight thousand slaves. He assisted Burton and Speke and Grant during their explorations in Africa, and has ever since evinced undying hostility to that system which exists in Africa, with admiration for all efforts made to crush the evil, and consequently those of the lamented Livingstone."

He was so engrossed with these Envoys that he saw less than would otherwise have been the case of Sultan Burghash, whose visit to London coincided with theirs, and who was accompanied by many of the General's old Zanzibar acquaintances. In June the Sultan and his suite, Dr Badger, Sir John Kirk, etc., were present at a meeting of the Geographical Society. The President, Sir Henry Rawlinson, after some opening remarks, asked General Rigby to speak. In the course of his address Rigby said it entirely depended on the good government of Zanzibar whether the interior of East Africa should be civilized and its trade opened up. He spoke also of the value of its commercial produce, especially of the expansion of the clove-growing industry.

Another Zanzibar visitor was in London at the same time, the Sultan's sister, Madame Ruete, whose romantic story was translated from the German as *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*. As Princess Bibi Suleyma she had done much to help Burghash at the time of the Rebellion. After secret meetings with a young Hamburg merchant, for which the only punishment could have been death, she escaped on H.M.S. *Highflyer* to Aden (1866), where for political reasons she was detained by the Assistant Resident in Charge, Colonel G. R. Goodfellow. Her only acquaintance there being another refugee, "the Spanish merchant, Mr Mass," he was appointed her protector, and informed that he must not permit her to have intercourse with Europeans, or allow her to leave his care without sanction. She embraced the Protestant faith, and a few months later accompanied her husband to Germany. Unhappily, he did not long survive, and she was left a widow in poor circumstances with three children in a strange land. My parents visited the Ruetes on their wedding tour. Now, hearing that the brother for whom she had risked all some fifteen years before was actually in London, her hope was concentrated on seeing him and securing forgiveness and the possibility of return to a warmer clime and a life more congenial to one of royal birth. In her original Memoir she wrote:—

"Worn out and in a state of feverish excitement I arrived at my journey's end, where a room at a hotel, ordered by my friends, awaited me. In the whole of London I did not know a soul except this married couple, and them too I had seen but once and but for an hour, when on their wedding tour they visited us, or rather my husband. In my need I had turned to them, and I never had to regret it. Both sacrificed themselves generously on my behalf."

She was on the other hand very bitter against Sir Bartle Frere, who she believed defeated all her aspirations. She could not see how utterly impossible they were. She always corresponded with my Parents from time to time, and was often a guest at our house on the last visit to London (about 1890) before her death. I remember her well—a devoted mother before everything, charming, pretty, worn, fragile, pathetic, always an exile in spirit, always a princess in the gentle dignity with which she bore herself. Her son is the able biographer of his eminent grandfather, the Imam.

In 1876, Rigby gave evidence at great length before the Royal Commission on Fugitive Slaves.

He received letters from Burghash and his Ministers at fairly frequent intervals up to his death, for the Sultan bore him no resentment, and Rigby's mastery of Arabic made a strong appeal to him. The letters always express a desire to do anything General Rigby wished—of course a mere phrase of Arab courtesy. In 1879, the Sultan wrote to ask him to send him a doctor, who must also have a knowledge of dentistry and the construction of false teeth. In 1880 he sent his Minister Bakushmir as an Envoy to England, accompanied by other Arabs and a Parsee named Bomanjee, and my Father again took charge. I can find no trace of this Mission and its object in official papers, but it must have had some further object than the purchase of a ship, which was the object which appealed, at the age of five, to *me*. Well I remember the first visit of the Envoys to our home in Mansfield Street, the instructions to myself beforehand that I was to be very polite and nice to them, and that, if I found opportunity to exhibit

my menagerie of china animals, the pigs were to remain in retirement. Bakushmir, large, ample, bearded, patriarchal, with a benign expression and voluminous robes, was at once my hero, and whenever he was at our house it was very bliss to sit on the old rogue's knee and play with his huge diamond ring while I listened to the flow of Arabic conversation. Bomanjee, who could speak English, had a strong sense of five-year-old humour and due appreciation of the honour of a secret introduction to the pigs, was less picturesque, so only second in my esteem.

The ship was bought, and my Parents, Bakushmir and I squeezed into a "growler" and drove down to the docks to see it. On the way Bakushmir expressed his satisfaction that the vessel was a new one and had never been polluted by the presence of unclean animals on board. Alas for his confidence! As we crossed the gangway there came forward to greet us a smiling Bomanjee with two just-purchased white Pomeranian dogs at his heels—to the extreme discomfiture of Bakushmir and the great amusement of my Father, who failed to share my enthusiasm for my handsome friend, whose ship I too regarded as "spoilt."

Bakushmir at parting promised to send me many gifts. The months went by, and I too learnt the value of the word of a Zanzibar Arab.

In this very year a dhow with ninety-four slaves on board was captured in Zanzibar harbour. She was under the French flag.

In 1882 Burghash sent Rigby a present of a silver-gilt sherbet tray with goblets, etc.

In 1883 he was in the Chair at an African meeting of the Royal Geographical Society at which one of the speakers referred to the objectionable French Roman Catholic practice of buying slave-children to found orphanages—a new phase of the slave trade! After the reading of the paper, Sir John Kirk said:—

"If General Rigby had not freed the Indian slaves, it would have been impossible to accomplish what has since been done. The

Chairman did the rough work, and he [Kirk] had filled in what was lacking. Without General Rigby's work, Zanzibar would not have become a commercial centre dominated over by British interests and British trade."

Rigby said that everybody present must have been struck with the extraordinary way in which East Africa was being opened up by missionaries and others to trade and civilization. During the four years he was at Zanzibar he was the only Englishman there, but now he believed there were more than a hundred English residents. The trade had greatly increased, the children were being educated, and civilization and Christianity were spreading rapidly over the interior.

In the same year he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society.

In 1884 he took part in a deputation to the Foreign Office to urge that the British representative to the Berlin Conference should bring up the question of Slavery and the Slave Trade, and that the law against the Slave Trade be assimilated to that against Piracy.

In 1885 he presided over the Committee meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society in January and on March 27th, when he "appeared to be in his usual robust health."

On April 14th, after being ill five days with pneumonia, he died.

CHAPTER XVIII

CLOSING YEARS. PRIVATE LIFE AND TRAVEL

IN the autumn of 1867 my Parents settled down in London. In the following year a son, Gerard Christopher,¹ was born at the Imperial Hotel, Torquay. By the next year my Father had so completely recovered his health that he was able to walk thirty miles a day, but he "was gradually getting broken in to housekeeping, baby-nursing, bottle-feeding, etc." In 1870 his mother died in her seventy-ninth year. A little daughter was born but only lived some six months.

In 1871, when at Torquay in September, he was impressed with the bent, shaky appearance of the ex-Emperor Louis Napoleon, whom, and his son, he often met, for they were then residing at the Imperial Hotel.

George Tembo accompanied the family on annual holidays until his return to Zanzibar.

A second son, Percy George,² was born on December 24, 1871.

¹ Educated Marlborough College, Hanover and Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Gazetted Wiltshire Regiment, 1888. Served in Mohmand Expedition, Indian Frontier, 1897. Tirah Campaign, 1897-1898. Boxer Expedition, Relief of Peking Legations, 1900. Boer War, 1901-1902. Retired 1908. War, 1914-1918. Resident in British Columbia, 1925-1934.

² Educated Marlborough College, Versailles, Hanover, Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Joined 45th Regiment (1st Battalion the Sherwood Foresters), November 1890. Attached Royal Niger Company, 1896, for Bida-Ilorin Expedition. Medal and Clasp and Royal Niger Company's Medal and Clasp. Seconded to West Africa Frontier Force with local rank of Captain, 1897. Clasp. South African War, 1899-1902. In command of Battalion for four months. Mentioned in Dispatches, Lord Roberts, 1900. Brevet of Major. Mentioned in Dispatches, Lord Kitchener, 1902. Queen's South Africa Medal and four Clasps. King's South Africa Medal and two Clasps. Served as Second-in-Command with Peking Legation Guard, 1902, 1903. Seconded 4th King's African Rifles, 1905 (Uganda). In command of Battalion with temporary rank of Lieut.-Colonel. East African War Medal (Nandi), 1906. Retired 1911 to fruit-ranch in British Columbia. Second-in-Command 1st British Columbia Regiment, 1914. Killed La Boutillerie, Fleurbaix, near Armentières, March 10, 1915. Passed as Army Interpreter in Arabic and German. King's College Certificate in Mandarin (Pekingese) Chinese.

In November 1874 my Parents spent a week with Mr and Mrs Webb at Newstead Abbey, where they much enjoyed the beauty of their surroundings, and the association with the memories of Byron and Livingstone, who had stayed there from July 1864 till April 1865.

In the autumn of 1877, having sent Gerard to school, they ventured to leave the children while they visited the Continent for two months. In those days they still had to rise at 4 a.m. with snow on the ground at Andermatt to cross the St Gotthard by diligence—a journey of over twelve hours to Lugano. Northern Italy now made a bad impression—as indeed did the country as a whole. Rigby condemned Milan as a dull and uninteresting city abounding in horrible smells from the sewers. Verona he found a picturesque old city with very stinking streets telling of the utter neglect of all sanitary precautions amongst “the degenerate modern Italians.” Although he had paid many visits to Venice, he had never before been so struck with its appearance of utter ruin and decay. Its palaces and churches were fast crumbling into the sea, there was no trade, no life, and the inhabitants presented a miserable, poverty-stricken, half-starved appearance. The Doge’s Palace was in a wretched state of repair, the walls of the Grand Hall split from top to bottom, and only held together by iron bands. Annexation to the Kingdom of Italy had, he believed, completed the downfall of the city. Commerce had quite deserted the port. The misery of the population was so extreme that he was informed that one-fifth of the entire number was subsisting on charity. Florence too he found greatly altered, for the picturesque old medieval walls had disappeared, and their space was occupied by broad, bare, dusty boulevards. Building had very much increased, but all in a mean, cheap, Frenchified style. The curse of modern Italy was its servile imitation of everything French. The city in general had now a decayed, poverty-stricken appearance, very different to its bright, flourishing aspect when it was the capital of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany. Its finances were

utterly bankrupt, there was no trade, the old Tuscan families were ruined, the pleasant foreign society completely scattered, "Florence, more than any other city, paying the penalty for having become part of the corrupt Kingdom of Italy." On the hills around, the woods had been destroyed, "giving them a bare, desolate appearance, and depriving the place of one of its chief attractions."

In central Italy, in the country, he found the inhabitants of the small towns and villages living "like pigs in filth and misery, on the verge of starvation."

My Parents made some stay in Rome and in Naples, and travelled as far south as Amalfi, returning by way of the French Riviera, whose development was but just beginning. All the coast was very badly supplied with food, the tables d'hôte consisting of a wearying repetition of tough meat and skinny fowls. There were no amusements, and each little place was confined to a narrow strip of land with a few orange and lemon groves between the hills and the sea. In November they were back in London, and did not leave England again till August 1879, when they took Gerard for a six weeks' tour in the Black Forest and Switzerland.

During the years when the children were too young for foreign travel, various attempts were made to find a holiday resort as a satisfactory alternative to Torquay, but nearly all failed. For example:—

"August 1869. Went to the — Hotel, Plymouth, a nasty, dirty, fusty place, swarming with fleas. Left the following morning for Penzance, and found it a dirty, stinking, barbarous little place, the hotel vile in every respect, the landlord a thorough rascal. The heat and dust were intolerable. We endured the place a week, being all too ill to travel. . . . We were most joyful to find ourselves back at the Imperial Hotel, Torquay, where we soon recovered health."

Again:—

"1876. We were much disappointed with Whitby, a poor place, town very stinking, bathing very bad. So we returned to London, and made a fresh start to Torquay."

Finally a fairly regular routine of a fortnight at Easter at Ventnor and six weeks in August and September at Torquay, now in lodgings, or (1882, 1883) at an old farmhouse on the edge of Dartmoor, was established, with many short trips, in which I shared from the age of five, to the inn at Yateley, or the Wellington College Hotel, to Bournemouth, to see the boys at their schools at Hartley Wintney, Ramsgate, Marlborough, and so on. In July 1881 I was taken to Scotland, on a visit to Ardmarnoch on Loch Fyne, and then to the Trossachs and Edinburgh. In 1883, after the summer holidays I was taken to Belgium, the Rhine, the Black Forest, Switzerland, Lago Maggiore and Paris. From this time my Father ceased to write a journal, but wrote instead diaries for us children to encourage us to continue them later. His first great joke on this journey was my Mother's discomfiture when she was caught smuggling a pound of tea across the German frontier. It was only a matter of a few pence, but she was amusingly indignant at the imputation of conscious guilt. At Baveno, where we spent a whole week, a great interest was the presence in the village of the Crown Prince of Germany with his wife and daughter. He was already very ill, but my youthful eyes were quite satisfied with him as a Prince. At the lovely little round English church I gazed my fill at him from a distance of some three yards, while my Father had his work cut out to restrain my Mother from offering the Princesses a hymn-book, since to her distress they only had one between them.

On this tour he excited in me a lively appreciation of the glorious beauty of mountains and lakes, of rich vegetation and Alpine sunsets—all a revelation of the divine splendour of Nature to which my eyes had previously been closed.

Of Basel is recorded as an outrageous phenomenon, "people smoking in the *salle-à-manger* whilst we were dining."

In spite of the fact that immediately on our return from this journey I collapsed with a severe attack of typhoid fever, contracted at Locarno, my Parents, having fortified us against

all physical ills by hanging bags of camphor round our necks, had the courage to take all three of us abroad for the next summer holidays. Again we went to the Rhine, Black Forest and Switzerland, spending a whole week at each of three places, viz. at Gernsbach, in lodgings at Baden Baden, and at Axenstein. We spent a miserable night on the Rigi. The return led us through Strassburg, Luxemburg and Brussels, this last halt being specially for the purpose of seeing in the Museum there the skeleton of the lately discovered prehistoric monster, *Iguanodon*.

At the end of the journal my Father wrote for me he transcribed two poems:—

“LINES COMPOSED BY AN UNFORTUNATE PEDESTRIAN TOURIST WHO
“ASCENDED THE RIGI IN DISMAL WEATHER

“Seven weary up-hill miles we sped
The setting sun to see;
Sullen and grim he went to bed,
Sullen and grim went we.

“Seven sleepless hours of night we passed
The rising sun to see;
Sullen and grim he rose again,
Sullen and grim rose we!

“LINES WRITTEN ON THE LAKE OF COMO BY A HOMESICK TOURIST

“I’ve seen the Lake, I’ve seen the Villa
Of Caroline, our Royal Sinner,¹
I’ve drunk the wine, I’ve ate the trout,
Seen all they make a fuss about,
And now I’m going, I fain would say,
Kind Heaven forbid a longer stay!”

At the end of the diary he wrote for Percy, he transcribed the first chapter of the Koran, expecting his son to learn Arabic, as he duly did. The first page he had already devoted to the

¹ Queen Caroline, after her separation from George IV, resided for some years in a villa on the Lake.

original of his favourite lines on *Travel* from an old Arabic MS. A translation of this was also written in my book. The quotation from Lamartine (see p. 21) followed, and from Goethe' this:—

“A new life begins when a man once sees with his own eyes all that he has before only read or heard about. All the dreams of one's youth are realized by travelling in countries before unvisited. Extended ideas of God's goodness in creation are formed by gazing on the glorious scenes of nature among the Alps.”

He himself added:—

“I can conceive no position in which a young man in sound health and of stout limb can be placed more exhilarating, from the sense of perfect and unshackled freedom, than that of the pedestrian tourist, just carrying his belongings on his back, like a snail, but with somewhat more of energy, bounding through the defiles and over the Passes of the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Scottish Highlands, the Saxon Switzerland, and the Austrian and Bavarian Tyrol. The entire freedom from anxiety as to shelter and food in all these places enables one to bestow all one's attention on the glories of nature.”

For the next year he planned to take us to Norway, one of the few countries of Europe he had never visited, and a country still practically untrodden by the British tourist. But just as we were about to start for the annual visit to Ventnor, he died, at the age of sixty-five. His constitution had been undermined by the long years in Asia and Africa, and his strength considerably shaken shortly before by the loss of all his savings in the failure of the Oriental Bank, which carried with it the Ceylon Company, of which he had been a Director. It involved impoverishment of so many of his old Indian friends that he felt it a most cruel blow.

Though I was not yet ten years of age when he was taken from us, my Father remains so vividly in my recollection that the scenes of over fifty years ago seem but as yesterday. There is so much I might write of him that it is hard to know what to write. The memories of his own unhappy childhood made of him an ideal father. My earliest recollections, dating back to when I was only three and four years old, are of his under-

standing, and tenderness and humour. Often when I was tired he carried me on his shoulder. That my nurse might not miss the fireworks at Torquay in Regatta week, I was taken to see them. In my wild terror at the noise of the rockets neither Mother nor nurse could calm me, but in my Father's arms I fell asleep, and though I awoke at the end I remember how comforting it was to be carried back under the quiet stars instead of having to walk as my other elders demanded of me. He was great at telling stories, all sorts of stories, but the masterpiece which I always demanded afresh, for there were always fresh surprises, concerned the adventures of three boys in the African forest. He never punished his children in any way. In an age when fathers still caned their sons, and a more or less open warfare often existed between adults and children, he—though I do not think he “spoilt” us, for he knew when to be stern, and we feared his displeasure beyond all things—was the ideal companion, the perfect friend and confidant. His radiant sympathy and exceptional sense of humour helped enormously in this. He could see the joke in everything, and not only the grown-up's joke, but the child's joke, and for an innocent practical joke he was always ready. With psychological insight he appreciated little girls' special delight in secrets, and he and I often had some wonderful secret, sometimes very pleasant, but sometimes of the “April fool” type, from my Mother, whose astonishment at the *dénouement* was the measure of our success. On one occasion the joke was to change the family baker, and see how long it would be before she discovered the fact. At every meal I was bursting with merriment when he turned the conversation on the improved quality of the bread. On another, while we were travelling, he was entrusted with the task of putting me to bed and giving me a pill, while my Mother was out at a Kursaal with the boys. For the next two days the conversation was so directed that she kept committing herself to complacent comments on the good results wrought by the pill—which he had hurled from the window—on my temper and complexion.

But what I feel supremely grateful for is not only that my Father descended to my level (if to sympathize so successfully with the mentality of a little child can be called descent), as that he equally assumed I could rise a little towards his. He told me of many of his interests, took me everywhere possible—even on one occasion into the sacred precincts of the Oriental Club—talked to me of current events, and encouraged me to dip into the books he was reading. I remember some of these books still, among others *Vice Versa*, just out, and two large illustrated volumes on the negroes of the United States. One hour he might be reading to me with tragic intensity the story of the Three Bears, or the little pig that rolled down the hill in a milk-can, or the song about the Dutchman's Wee Dog, and the next he would be telling me about India, or the sufferings of the African slaves, or of the London chimney-boys. He did not expect me to be exclusively childish in my own reading. At eight years old on a wet day at Torquay when a cold kept me indoors, a wail of "nothing to read! get me a book!" brought *Nicholas Nickleby*, which was of thrilling interest when I was told that Mr Squeers' establishment was partly drawn from the school at Brough of which I had so often heard. A few weeks later I was introduced to Scott through *Anne of Geierstein*.

In every direction he tried to open his children's minds and widen their interests. He hated insularity, and never ceased urging upon us the value of learning languages, especially German as a beginning, and of travelling abroad and associating with people of every country and class. On country rambles—and on holidays these took place every afternoon, if not for the whole day—it was his delight to talk to the peasants, farmers, tourists, etc., with whom we came in contact, and it was the same with landlords, shopkeepers, railway officials, fellow-travellers of all kinds. Even in London he liked to establish a personal relationship with every tradesman who served us. Another thing he impressed on us as important was to write clearly. He was most indignant with correspon-

dents who wrote so badly that they could not even sign their names legibly, denouncing them for their discourtesy. His own handwriting was clear and beautiful. I delighted to sit beside him and watch him writing Arabic or Hindustani with a wooden pen and hear what it was all about. He was methodical and meticulous in all his ways, keeping lists and accounts with as scrupulous care as in his official life, but often with a touch of humour, as in a list of "Christmas Presents Given," with a sub-heading "Names of Lucky Ones." One female relative gets 7s. 6d. for her three children, and for herself "a blessing and a toothpick," another at a cost of 10s. "A Basket of Fish and Ingredients of Rich Oyster Sauce," and so on.

He was very anxious that we should swim well and took every opportunity of bathing with us. On the few days they were in London in summer, he would take the two boys before breakfast to the old baths in the Thames near Charing Cross Bridge. In our riding-lessons also he took an interest, though he no longer cared to ride himself. To increase our interest in the tropics, he would lose no opportunity of familiarizing us with exotic fruits such as custard-apples, mangoes and lychees, and we were not less allowed to go without instruction in the appreciation of good wine. At eight or nine years old I was expected to know the difference between 1848 and latter-day port! To set inferior wine before guests was in his opinion a grievous breach of hospitality. Saturday or Sunday afternoons were often passed at the Zoo, where he delighted to show us, and tell us about, the animals and reptiles he had known in their wild state; or at the Botanic Gardens, where the evening fêtes opened to me visions of Paradise.

He loved intercourse with old Indian comrades and African friends, and among those I remember best as frequent visitors or visited were Colonel Grant, General Miles, Colonel Keith Jopp, General Iredell, General Sir Henry Thuillier, Colonel Evans, Dr Rigby Collins, General Goodfellow (at Torquay) and Dr Badger, who impressed me by smoking a hookah when he stayed with us. My Father rarely smoked at all.

He was never "mealy-mouthed" either in speech or with his pen, and a sketch of a former Commanding Officer in a letter to Miles gives a characteristic example of the picturesque language at his command:—

"He was a man no one could respect or esteem, a shuffling, sneaking, underhand, double-faced, hypocritical, bad sort of Scotchman . . . it is wonderful how he has sneaked through the Service with such a character and so little discrimination between truth and falsehood."

He was ingenious at inventing nicknames. Our last nurse, for example, was "Lumps." Alas, in a moment of noble wrath on behalf of a weary Dartmoor donkey I violated confidence and betrayed the name. The relief for the donkey was prompt, but . . .

In Politics Rigby called himself a Liberal, and he had a certain admiration for Gladstone until the abandonment of Gordon and loss of the Soudan, at the news of whose death he was profoundly depressed.

In Religion he belonged to the most Broad, Liberal, or, as it is now called, Modern wing of the Church of England. Wandering from one preacher to another in his search for what he wanted, he settled down with satisfaction when about 1880 he discovered Mr Page Roberts¹ in his ministry at St Peter's, Vere Street. My Mother was obliged to accompany her old aunt to a family pew at another church until her death in 1882,² but my Father frequently rescued me from the long service and forty minutes' sermon and took me with him to Vere Street. He sometimes made very interesting comments as we walked back. I remember the last Easter Day—his last Sunday—as we came alone together through Cavendish Square, he criticized "Alleluia" as a non-Christian and for us mistaken cry, equivalent, if I remember rightly, to "Allah, He is Jah, He is the Lord," and his telling me, the not yet ten-year-old child, that Arabic and Hebrew were related languages.

¹ Afterwards Canon of Canterbury, Dean of Salisbury and D.D.

² Also the occasion of our moving to her house, 14 Portland Place.

With his wide outlook on Religion, his contempt for narrow dogma and Pharisaism, his belief that all peoples of the earth, whatever their creed, are "children of God," went an unfailing belief in Divine goodness and in a future life. He left me with a conviction that never wavered, even when all else was in question, that our comradeship and friendship will be renewed with no sense of strangeness or alienation, but the stronger and richer for the intervening years, each one of which has brought a deepened realization of what I owe him.

“And here will I make an end.

“And if I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.”

2 MACCABEES xv. 37, 38

APPENDIX I

EXTRACT FROM MEMORANDUM ON THE SEYCHELLE ISLANDS, 1862

DURING the last two years a considerable number of slaves have been captured on the East Coast of Africa by Her Majesty's ships of war. In September 1860 H.M.'s ship *Brisk* captured a slaver with 846 slaves on board. They were taken to the Mauritius, and apprenticed to planters, and whilst at the Seychelles I was informed that the climate of the Mauritius had proved very fatal to them, particularly in the mountainous part of the interior of the island, where they were frequently found dead in the fields from the effects of cold. At the French colony of La Réunion the mortality amongst the African slaves who are imported under the pretence of being free Engagés is estimated at 20 per cent per annum, and the French therefore required to import twenty thousand slaves annually to keep up one hundred thousand labourers. . . . The Vicomte de Langle, the French Naval Commander in Chief on the East Coast of Africa, informed me that of the 80,000 slaves on the island of La Réunion who were emancipated by a decree of the French Republic in 1848, only a few hundreds were alive in 1859.

The first time captured slaves were landed at the Seychelle Islands was in June 1861 when H.M.S. *Lyra* conveyed 200 captured Africans from Zanzibar to Mahé. On my last visit there, in November last, all these Africans were doing well, and all those I talked to expressed themselves highly pleased with their condition, and the Colonial Magistrate informed me that they all worked well and gave great satisfaction. On my arrival there in H.M.S. *Gorgon* we had 62 captured slaves on board, and on this becoming known upwards of 600 applications for their services were made to the Magistrate. . . .

As many slaves will probably be captured by the British cruisers on the East Coast of Africa, I think it is very desirable that they should all be taken to the Seychelle Islands for emancipation, instead of to the Cape of Good Hope or the Mauritius. The equable, temperate climate of these islands is exactly adapted to the African constitution, and they will help to supply the chief want for the future prosperity of these islands.

APPENDIX II

REPORT ON THE ZANZIBAR DOMINIONS

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL C. P. RIGBY
BOMBAY ARMY

HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL AND BRITISH AGENT AT ZANZIBAR

THE territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar comprise all that part of the east coast of Africa included between Magadosha, situated in about 2° north latitude, and Cape Delgado, situated in $10^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude; they are bounded on the north by independent tribes of Somal and Gallas, and on the south by the Portuguese territories under the Governor-General of Mozambique. The extent of coast under the dominion of Zanzibar is about eleven hundred miles. The islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Monfea are also included in the Zanzibar dominions. The territories on the mainland have no defined limit towards the interior, being chiefly inhabited by heathen tribes, who pay no taxes, and at a distance from the coast only acknowledge the authority of the Sultan when it suits their own interest to do so.

2. The coast of the mainland is called by the Arabs "El Sowahil," and the inhabitants, without distinction of tribes, "Sowahili," or dwellers on the coast, the name being derived from the Arabic noun "Sahil," a sea-coast. That part of the coast opposite to Zanzibar, and as far north as Mombassa, is called "Marima"—an African word signifying "the Coast." From Brava to Magadosha, the coast is called "El Benadir" or "the Ports," and to the south of Zanzibar, as far as Keelwa, it is called "Mungao."

3. The Island of Zanzibar, called "Ungujo" by the Africans, which forms the chief part of the Sultan's dominions, and the seat of Government, is situated at a distance of twenty to thirty miles from the African coast, along which it stretches in a north-easterly by a south-westerly direction; it is about forty-eight miles in length, and from fifteen to thirty in breadth. The northern point of the island, called "Ugoowy," is situated in $5^{\circ} 42'$ south latitude, and $39^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude. The south point of the island, called Ras Kizamkaz, is situated in $6^{\circ} 27'$ south latitude, and $39^{\circ} 27'$ east of Greenwich. Owen's charts of this part of the African coast are incorrect; it extends five miles further to the eastward than is laid down. The variation at Zanzibar in 1857 was $11^{\circ} 7'$ west.

4. The channel between the Island of Zanzibar and the mainland

has sufficient depth of water for the largest ships; it is studded with many small islands, and shoals and sand-banks are numerous; but all dangers are avoided by keeping near the island; and there is everywhere good anchorage. There is no anchorage on the east side of the island, from which reefs extend to a considerable distance.

5. The Island of Zanzibar contains an area of about 400,000 acres; and the soil in most parts is of exceeding fertility. Being covered with woods and plantations, and the frequent rains causing perpetual verdure, it everywhere presents a delightful appearance. Towards the sea-coast, the island is low and the soil light and sandy; but at a distance of two to three miles from the sea, the land rises in gentle eminences to a height of three or four hundred feet. The slopes are covered with clove plantations and orange groves; rice, sugarcane, cassava or manioc, jowaree, etc., are grown in the plains and valleys, which are well watered with rivulets, which flow at all seasons, and afford a plentiful supply of good water to the town and shipping.

6. In the interior of the island the soil varies very much, in some parts consisting of a rich, black loam, formed by decayed vegetable matter, in others of a tenacious clay of a bright-red colour; this is the most productive soil, and is generally selected for clove plantations. From the sea the island presents the appearance of an unbroken forest of cocoanut, mango and other trees, with the clove plantations on the hills forming the background; but the island is intersected by paths and green lanes in every direction, affording a never-ending variety of pleasant rides and walks. The country-houses of the Arab proprietors, and the huts of their slaves, are thickly dotted over the surface, surrounded with gardens and fields. The hedgerows are covered with flowering creepers, chiefly varieties of jasmine and wild pea. The hedges are formed of a species of laurel, wild orange, lime and other evergreens; and pineapples of large size grow everywhere wild in profusion. In many parts are glades of undulating grass-land of park-like appearance, dotted with gigantic mango trees; and in the cold season mushrooms are abundant. The ponds are covered with rushes and white and blue lilies; and the air is perfumed with the blossoms of the mango and clove. The substratum is everywhere coral; not a stone is to be found in any part except of coral formation.

7. There are no streams of sufficient size to be called rivers; but numerous rivulets flow through the green valleys, and are, in many places, conducted through aqueducts to the gardens and country-houses of the Arabs. Two rivulets are led through aqueducts to the sea to the north of the harbour; the nearest, situated at Nitonay,

about three miles from the shipping, has been neglected since the death of the late Imaum, and its water is now polluted by the slaves being permitted to wash clothes, vegetables, etc., in it. The other, situated at Boobooboo, about six miles north of the harbour, affords an abundant supply of good water at all seasons; at high tides, boats can go under the mouth of the aqueduct, where the water falls into the sea, and fill their casks without delay. Before the construction of these aqueducts, ships were in the habit of procuring water from impure sources near the town, and its use caused dysentery and other complaints, which were attributed to the climate, which thus acquired an evil reputation, which further experience has proved to be erroneous.

8. As no returns of any kind are kept relative to the population of the Zanzibar dominions, it is impossible to define the amount with any accuracy. The population of the Island of Zanzibar is estimated at about 250,000 souls. The town of Zanzibar contains about 60,000 inhabitants, and during the north-east monsoon there are probably from thirty to forty thousand strangers added to the permanent population. During the last few years, the population of the town has been rapidly increasing, and entire new quarters have been built. The population is very mixed; the chief people are the Arab landed proprietors, who form a sort of aristocracy, possessing large plantations and numerous slaves. A numerous mixed race has sprung up, the offspring of Arabs by African women; many of these people are very intelligent and enterprising, and free from the bigotry and religious prejudices of the Arabs; but they are in general dishonest and unprincipled. The number of the natives of the Comoro Isles settled at Zanzibar amounts to about four thousand. They are an active, intelligent race, of fairer skin, and more comely features than the Sowahilis or other African races. They are brave and industrious, and make good domestic servants. There are also many natives of the west coast of Madagascar settled at Zanzibar. A considerable number of Arabs, from the coast of Hadramaut, also come to labour as porters and carriers; they are a patient, industrious people; nearly all the work in the harbour—of shipping and landing cargo—is performed by them. The Arabs from the coast of Oman, called “Soorees,” are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race, always ready for any mischief; they are filthy, squalid, ill-featured savages, and arrant cowards. No sooner does the north-east monsoon commence to blow—about the middle of November—than thousands of these wretches hurry across in their boats from the Arabian coast, bringing for sale salted shark in a half-putrid state; piles of

this are landed and stocked in open places in the centre of the town, tainting the air with the putrid odour. When the south-west monsoon sets in—about April—these Arabs hasten to return north; and before leaving the African coast, kidnap men, women and children, and convey them to the Persian Gulf for sale. If they meet a ship-of-war, they do not hesitate to throw their wretched victims overboard, in order to save their boats from capture.

(9. The number of natives of India residing in the Zanzibar territories is between five and six thousand, and is annually increasing. They consist chiefly of Banians from Kutch and Jamnuggur, and of Khojas and Bhoras—Mahommedan sects from Kutch, Surat and Bombay. Nearly all the shops in the Zanzibar bazaars are kept by these people, and almost all the foreign trade of the port passes through their hands. They are gradually acquiring all the wealth and property of the island; and the Arabs, from their indolence, and want of honesty and fair dealing, are becoming impoverished. Banians are established in considerable numbers at all the towns and villages on the opposite coast of the mainland, also at Mozambique, Eboo and other Portuguese settlements. The Khojas and Bhoras have settlements on the west coast of Madagascar, and at the French colonies of Nossi Beh and Mayotta. The Banians never bring their families or females from India, and always look forward to a return to their own country after having acquired a competence, but the Khojas and Bhoras bring their wives and children, and become permanent settlers. They are a very thrifty, industrious people. A new quarter of the town, entirely inhabited by these Indian Mahommedans, has recently sprung up, and is rapidly increasing; each bugalow from Kutch usually brings a number of Khoja families as settlers. There is not a single Armenian or Jew residing at Zanzibar, and only about a dozen Persians. Several shops have recently been established by Portuguese from Goa; and there is one Parsee, who unites the professions of doctor, tin-worker and gilder.)

10. The language commonly spoken throughout the Zanzibar dominions is the "Kisuaheli," called by the Africans "Maneno Ungoja." It is one of the great family of South African languages, and dialects of it are spoken over a vast extent of Eastern Africa—from the limit of the Galla and Somali country, in about 3° north latitude, as far south as the Zambesi. It is a soft, pleasing sounding language, without any guttural sounds, and so guided by rules of euphony, that most of the irregularities in its grammatical construction may be traced to the desire to avoid any harshness of sound. It has not the slightest affinity to the languages of the

Abyssinians, Gallas or Somal. It is not a written language, but the Arab settlers use the Arabic character in writing it. (Arabs and Indians born on the coast or at Zanzibar seldom know their mother-tongue, and speak only "Kisuaheli.") The Arabic spoken by the better class of Arabs at Zanzibar is a very corrupt dialect. Education is at the lowest point; a few old Moollahs teach the boys to read and write; and when they are able to read the Koran, and repeat their daily prayers, their education is considered complete. The blade-bone of an ox or a horse is used in the schools as a substitute for a slate. (No foreign Missionary has yet attempted to establish a school at Zanzibar, although it would be gladly encouraged by the Sultan and the wealthy Indian merchants.)

11. There are no regular civil courts of law established in the Zanzibar dominions, nor any written code of laws or regulations. In all civil matters, the Cazeer decides according to the institutes of the Koran; there are no written proceedings, and no lawyers or advocates. After listening to both parties, the Cazeer decides the matter at once. But the Cazeers are persons of no character, are not at all respected by the people, and bribery is said to be very common. I have myself detected the Cazeer in conniving at a most impudent case of forgery, and the exposure and denunciation of it appeared to excite no surprise. A certificate from the Cazeer is requisite for the legal manumission of slaves. The right of direct appeal to the Sultan exists in all cases, and his decision is final.

12. All criminal matters are decided at Zanzibar by the Sultan himself, for which purpose he sits in public durbars twice daily, attended by all his principal officers. Every complainant has free access, and the decision is given at once, without any written proceedings. Arabs have an inveterate dislike to writing; they keep no written record of the most important affairs. In a case of murder—the only crime for which the punishment of death is inflicted—the criminal is taken out and put to death immediately his sentence is pronounced, unless he compounds by paying the price of blood to the family of the murdered person. The "Diyat" or price of blood is eight hundred dollars; but it is optional with the family of the victim either to accept the diyat, or to insist upon the execution of the murderer. Conviction only follows on the direct testimony of several witnesses; no presumptive evidence is admitted; the criminal, on conviction, is taken direct to the market place and beheaded with a sword. In cases of serious assault, the culprit is confined in irons in the fort, or compounds by paying a fine to the person assaulted. The punishment for trivial offences is a few blows on the back with a stick; a person who has been repeatedly convicted

of robbery is punished with the mutilation of his right hand. Petty theft is punished with one or two dozen blows of a stick upon the back and chest. Fines are never levied for offences, unless as a compensation to the injured person. Runaway slaves, when caught, are fastened by an iron collar round the neck to a heavy chain, and left exposed all day in a public thoroughfare; they remain chained up until claimed and released by their owners. Twenty to thirty slaves of both sexes, and of all ages, including even little girls, are frequently fastened by the neck with heavy iron collars to one chain—a cruel, disgusting sight, which shows the unfeeling nature of Arabs to the sufferings of slaves. Serious crimes are very rare, or probably the detection of crimes; only one execution has occurred at Zanzibar during the last three years; and a case of mutilating a thief very seldom occurs. A barbarous method, used for extorting a confession from a suspected person, is burying him up to the neck on the sea-beach and allowing the tide to gradually cover his head.

13. There is no regular police maintained in any part of the Zanzibar dominions; the Belooch and Mekrani soldiers of the Sultan are employed in arresting criminals, and in the maintenance of order; they patrol the streets of Zanzibar by night, and guard the prisoners in the fort. They are, however, accused, and I believe justly, of committing most of the robberies which occur; and when employed to prevent the northern Arabs from stealing slaves and kidnapping children, they are known to be the most active agents in supplying these people with stolen slaves and children. They are all arrant cowards, and greatly fear the northern pirate tribes.)

14. There are no regular jails; prisoners are confined in the forts of Zanzibar, Keelwa, Mombassa, and Lamoo. Imprisonment is never awarded for any specified period; and if the friends of a prisoner can afford to give a *douceur* of a few dollars to a *Cazee* or any influential Arab, he is speedily released. Both sexes are confined together; the prisoners are allowed to have any food they can afford to purchase, or their friends supply; they can converse with all persons entering the forts, or play cards with the guard. Unless placed in irons for some serious offence, the imprisonment is of the mildest description. It is the custom to release all prisoners every year at the Eed Koorban, with the exception of those imprisoned for treason.

15. The Arabs of Zanzibar, although the ruling race, are generally very dirty, ignorant and bigoted. The soft climate, added to the custom of keeping so many slaves and black concubines, has destroyed all the rough virtues usually attributed to Arabs, viz.

manliness of character, energy and personal courage. Foreign trade has of late years introduced amongst them a taste for foreign luxuries, such as handsome furniture and dress, costly mirrors, china, etc., and has thus caused an outward appearance of comparative civilization; but with the love of finery and luxury, they have also imbibed a passion for spirituous liquors, and the consumption is rapidly increasing. They are inveterate liars, and so dishonest as traders that most of the foreign merchants avoid dealings with them, and in consequence all the trade of the port is passing into the hands of natives of India. A good deal of the landed property is also mortgaged to them. Were the prosperity of the Zanzibar dominions dependent upon these degenerate Arabs, it might well be despaired of.

16. The usual dress of the Arabs is a long, white cotton shirt, reaching nearly to the ankles; a loongee or waist-cloth of silk or cotton of Muscat manufacture; a turban of the same; a short jacket of broadcloth called "Kisbao," richly embroidered when the wearer can afford it; a cloth of richly embroidered silk and gold bound round the loins, and a light "Jubbah," or loose cloak of broadcloth, trimmed with gold and silver embroidery. All classes go armed with a straight, double-edged sword and a dagger.

The dagger or jumbea is worn everywhere, even by young boys; it is the object upon which the Arabs display most extravagance; those who can afford it, have the haft and sheath richly ornamented with gold and silver. The dagger worn by a wealthy Arab usually costs from 60 to 100 dollars. The shield which most Arabs carry is made of rhinoceros' hide, and is slung over the left shoulder. A long, light spear completes the equipment. The Arab females never go abroad during the day, but at night visit each other with their slave girls. They never stir out without a veil, which is just large enough to cover the face, and is embroidered with a gold border, having two holes for the eyes. The women possess great influence, and are reputed to be much given to intrigue and love adventures. The Princes of the Sultan's family and the principal Arabs who attend the daily durbar, wear a long, loose coat of blue or red broadcloth, richly trimmed with gold embroidery. The Banians and Hindoos possess all the privileges of the Mahomedans, in the free exercise of their religion, burning their dead, and wearing turbans. They have one temple, and frequently meet together for feasts and religious ceremonies in gardens in the vicinity of the town.

17. The African slaves, who form the great bulk of the population of Zanzibar, are of various tribes from the interior. No slaves are

brought from the coast of Africa to the north of Mombassa, the tribes being too fierce and warlike, and the Galla and Somali tribes are never made slaves. During the past year, 19,000 slaves were brought to Zanzibar from the coast of Africa. Of these, four thousand were from the "Marima," or coast opposite to Zanzibar, and fifteen thousand were from the neighbourhood of the great lake of Nyassa, situated about forty days' journey south-west of Keelwa. The tribes which formerly furnished most of the slaves are now nearly exhausted, and this miserable traffic is being carried further into the interior every year, and is depopulating vast tracts of fertile country. Besides those brought to Zanzibar, a great number are taken south to the Portuguese ports in the Mozambique, where a very extensive slave trade is still carried on with the knowledge and connivance of the Portuguese authorities. The majority of the slaves belong to the great tribes of M'Nyassa, Miyan and Magindo. The price of newly imported slaves at Zanzibar is from £2 to £7 for adult males or females, and 25 to 50 shillings for a boy or girl. A tax of one dollar per head has hitherto been levied on each slave landed, and this has recently been doubled by the Sultan. The tax is included in the farm of customs. The auction market for slaves is held twice daily; the slaves of both sexes are examined and trotted out to show their paces, just like horses at a fair. The Negroes of the Miyan and Magindo tribes file their teeth to a point, and pierce the centre of the ear; the females frequently tattoo their bodies all over, and perforate the upper lip, leaving a large opening through which the teeth and gums are exposed, causing the lip to droop over the mouth; they also perforate the cartilage and side of the nose, and the lobe of the ear.

18. It is impossible to conceive a more revolting sight than the landing of a cargo of slaves on arrival from Keelwa. They are transported in open boats, packed so closely that they are obliged to remain in one position; their naked bodies are exposed day and night to sun, wind and rain; they have only just sufficient coarse grain given them to keep them from starvation; if the boats meet with contrary winds, they generally run short of water, and thirst is added to the other miseries these poor creatures endure; on arriving at Zanzibar, they are frequently in the last stage of lingering starvation, and unable to stand. Some drop dead in the custom-house and in the streets; others, who are not likely to recover, are left on board to die, in order that the owner may avoid paying the duty which is levied on those landed. After being brought on shore, the slaves are kept some time in the dealers' houses until they gain strength and flesh, when they are taken to the slave market and

sold to the highest bidder. The Arabs regard the slaves as cattle, and not the slightest regard is paid to their sufferings. They are too cheap and numerous to be cared for; this year slaves have been sold in the interior for half a dollar a-head, or ten slaves given in exchange for one cow or bullock. The slaves employed on the plantations lead an easy life: the Arab is too indolent and apathetic himself to make his slaves exert themselves. Two days in each week—Thursday and Friday—the slaves do what they please; all the produce they carry to market on these days is on their own account, and consequently these are the chief market days at Zanzibar, as the Negroes throng to market from all parts. Each slave in the country has a good-sized hut, with a garden round it; in this they often display a good deal of simple taste; and in their habits of cleanliness form a great contrast to the dirty Arabs. The females are very fond of silver ornaments, necklaces and armlets of coloured Venetian beads; and they pay great attention to their woolly hair, which they arrange in a great variety of fashions. Both sexes usually grow very stout after they have been some time on the island; but the mortality among them is very great; and very few of the women bear children—not more, probably, than 5 per cent of them. When hired out to labour by their masters, slaves receive eight Indian pice, about 3½d. per day: of this, the master generally takes five pice, leaving the slave three pice to provide himself with food. Men, boys and women receive the same amount of pay. Frequently a man who is a slave himself is the owner of several other slaves; and even a servant who is receiving four or five dollars a month wages is frequently the owner of one or more slaves. An Arab who is the owner of three or four slaves frequently lets them out to labour, and will live on what they earn, scorning to apply himself to any industrious pursuit, and lounges about all day with dagger, sword and shield, considering himself a man of property. Manumitting a slave is considered a very laudable act, and is often done by a master when at the point of death, as the last means of seeking Divine favour; the Cazeer writes out the deed of freedom, and it is frequently worn by the liberated slave enclosed in a silver case on the arm or neck. Liberating a slave is even considered sufficient atonement for a false oath. I have never heard a Mahomedan attempt to defend slavery, as it now exists, by appealing to the Koran; on the contrary, in arguing on it, they all admit its wickedness and injustice, and that no blessing ever attends wealth acquired in the traffic. The merit attached to emancipating a slave is the best criterion of their real feelings on the subject. The slave dealers are a vile, base set of unfeeling wretches; their

occupation is regarded as infamous; and they have not the slightest regard for their victims, treating them as brute animals. The traffic in slaves is now everywhere prohibited on both coasts of Africa, except in the Zanzibar dominions; the only persons who benefit by it are a few vile, sensual Arabs; whilst it is carried on with revolting cruelty, and is desolating vast districts in Eastern Africa. I believe that its entire prohibition would add greatly to the prosperity of Zanzibar, and be a great benefit to all classes. A great increase in the trade of Zanzibar, and in the growth of agricultural produce, has taken place since the abolition by treaty of the slave trade to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea in 1847; since which period the customs revenue has increased 38 per cent. When first landed, the slaves of both sexes are in a state of almost complete nudity; after being sold, they are generally decently clothed; the men wear a loin-cloth of American cotton, or a striped Muscat loongee, and a cap of white cotton or the red fez. The females wear a dress of coloured cotton or chintz; it is one piece wound tightly round the body under the arms, pressing the breast down; the shoulders and head are bare. Slaves and other Africans who can afford it, usually wear a long, white cotton shirt in addition to the loin-cloth.

19. Recent experience has proved that the climate of Zanzibar is not deserving the evil reputation it had acquired in former years. I believe its present comparative salubrity to be owing to the increase of cultivation and clearance of the jungle; to the growth of cloves having, in a great measure, superseded that of rice and sugarcane; and to a purer supply of water being obtained since the construction of the aqueducts. Greater attention is also paid to decency and cleanliness in the part of the town occupied by the foreign residents. The dead bodies of slaves and animals which were formerly left exposed to putrify on the beach are now removed and buried. Fevers of the remittent and intermittent form are very prevalent; small-pox generally appears every year about the month of October, and is very fatal amongst the African race; every trial of vaccination has proved a failure, probably from the vaccine matter having lost its power during the sea voyage. From the dense vegetation and humidity of the soil, sleeping even one night in the interior of the island generally has proved fatal to Europeans. During the month of October 1859, a detachment of sixty Europeans from Her Majesty's steam-frigate *Assaye* passed one night in the interior of the island: of these, twenty-six were attacked with fever a few days after, and three cases were fatal. A few years ago, Commodore Nourse, with a party from his ship, passed one night ashore in a country-house, and every one of the party died of fever.

The Sultan has several times engaged Europeans to superintend his steam sugar-mill on a plantation in the interior, but not one has survived after sleeping a few nights on the plantation. The fever is usually attended with incessant vomiting, followed by delirium. The town of Zanzibar being situated on a tongue of land, almost surrounded by the sea, is open to every breeze, and this is doubtless the chief cause of its salubrity. The crews of the merchant ships in the harbour are generally very healthy, although working in the sun all day at all seasons. Owing to the excessive humidity and small annual range of the thermometer, the climate is exceedingly enervating, and therefore not favourable for a prolonged residence; the members of the foreign mercantile houses usually leave for a change of climate after a residence of three years.

20. There are two rainy seasons at Zanzibar, the heaviest being in March, April and May, during which months of 1859, 104.25 inches of rain fell; and the lesser rainy season in September and October. The total fall of rain in 1859 amounted to 167 inches, being more than double the average annual fall at Bombay. January, February and March are the hottest months; and July, August and September the coolest. The extremes of the temperature during 1859 were 89 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit, making the extreme range during the year 19 degrees. The mean range during the year was only 7.9 degrees. The mean temperature was 79.9 degrees. The prevailing winds for nine months in the year are from the south-west and east; during the other three months, the wind blows strong from the north-east. The north-east monsoon, which prevails over the upper part of the Indian Ocean, reaches Zanzibar about December, and blows with great force for two months. At the change of the monsoon, about March, heavy squalls frequently blow from the south-west and west, accompanied with heavy rain; but the hurricanes, which cause such devastation further south, never extend to Zanzibar. The dews are very heavy nearly throughout the year. The rise of the tide is 13 feet.

21. The interior of the opposite mainland is reported to be a temperate, healthy climate; but no white resident on the coast has ever yet escaped the fever; those who recover from the first attack appear to become acclimated. French and American merchants sometimes reside a considerable time at Brava and Lamoo, situated further north, without experiencing any ill effects. The hills near Mombassa are also healthy, with a temperate, bracing climate and picturesque scenery. A Mission of the London Missionary Society has been located in these hills during the last fifteen years; the

natives are friendly to the missionaries; and during the last seven years an English lady has resided at the Mission.

22. Besides fevers and small-pox, elephantiasis is also very common amongst the Arabs and Africans, and appears to become hereditary. There is also a terrible disease—elephantiasis of the scrotum—which attacks old and worn-out people, or those who lead a very sedentary life. If a Banian, when attacked with this disease, leaves in time for his native country, it usually disappears. I have only heard of one European being attacked with it, and his constitution was worn out by a very long residence in the tropics. Cutaneous diseases are very common, doubtless owing to the filthy habits of the people, and from salted and half-putrid fish forming so great a portion of their daily food. Cholera is sometimes very fatal; in the spring of 1859 it carried off about twenty thousand persons in the Island of Zanzibar, and almost depopulated several towns on the opposite coast. It was introduced from the Red Sea at the commencement of the north-east monsoon, and travelled slowly down the coast; after it had nearly ceased at Zanzibar, it travelled south, and caused great mortality at Keelwa, Mozambique, etc. No return of births or deaths is kept; and there are no regular places of burial. The slaves are generally buried in a shallow grave dug in the sand on the sea-beach; Arabs and others are buried anywhere outside the town, in fields or gardens, or on the sides of the public roads. It is only during the last few years, owing to the remonstrances of the foreign residents, that the dead bodies of Negroes are committed to the earth. Arabs will dwell in the midst of the most offensive sights and odours without appearing to care for them.

23. With the exception of the medical officer attached to the British Consulate, there is no medical man in any part of the Zanzibar dominions; the Arabs are entirely ignorant of any medical treatment, always trusting to fate and charms. There is no regular dispensary attached to the British Consulate, but the medical officer gives medicines to all applicants who are suffering. He is freely applied to in cases of serious illness, and of wounds and accidents, and is thus enabled to alleviate a great amount of human suffering. He also affords medical aid to all the foreign merchants, and to the crews of vessels in the harbour.

24. The town of Zanzibar contains about sixty thousand inhabitants; like all Eastern towns, the streets are narrow, irregular and ill-built. The bazaars are extensive, and well supplied with articles of foreign manufacture. Nearly all the shopkeepers and artisans are natives of India. The palace of the Sultan and the houses of

most of the principal Arabs and foreign residents are situated close to the sea, facing the harbour. The houses are generally flat-roofed, with an interior court-yard. Numerous large, substantial buildings are now being erected in place of the former ones of mud-walls and roofs of cocoanut leaves. The streets are never swept, and are always in a filthy state, there being no police or sanitary regulations. From a superstitious idea, the Arabs always leave a part of every house unfinished. The only public buildings are the mosques, which are low, mean buildings, without domes or minarets. After a house is once built, the owner, if an Arab, will never expend a farthing on repairs or painting, and thus most of the buildings have a dirty, ruinous appearance.

(25. Provisions of all kinds are abundant; but prices have more than doubled within a few years, owing to the increased demand. Bullocks and cows are brought from Pemba and the mainland; they do not live long in Zanzibar, particularly in the interior of the island; and it is equally fatal to horses, probably owing to the grass being too rank. The few horses on the island are imported from Muscat, chiefly by the Sultan for his own use. There are no horses on the opposite mainland. The Arabs usually ride Arabian donkeys, the price of which is from 50 to 100 dollars each. Calves are never slaughtered. Sheep are scarce and very dear, except during the north-east monsoon, when the Somalis bring a great many from Berbera. A sheep or a goat costs about as much as a young slave. Fowls are abundant; geese and ducks very scarce. Turkeys are brought from Madagascar, but soon die. Fish of great variety are abundant; but few have any flavour. Vegetables are very scarce, being so little consumed by the natives. Pumpkins, sweet potatoes, coarse radishes and yams from Pemba are generally procurable. All my attempts to grow European vegetables have been unsuccessful; even onions will not grow.

26. Most tropical fruits are very abundant; oranges of many varieties, citrons, limes and pummalows attain great perfection. The mango tree attains a size rarely seen in India, and yields two crops of fruit annually. During the hot season, mangoes are so plentiful that they form the chief food of the natives. The jack-fruit is largely consumed. The cashewnut, roseapple, papaya, banana, tamarind, guava and custardapple are also common. Grapes, mulberries, figs, lichees, grow well, but are scarce. The cassava or mohogo, which forms the chief food of the slaves and poorer classes, yields four crops a year; when one crop is dug up, a piece of the stalk, about a foot in length, is stuck into the ground, and in about three months it produces another crop. The jowarree—*Holcus*

Sorghum—grows to the height of eighteen feet. Cotton and sugarcane grow in great perfection; but the Arabs are too indolent to cultivate them for exportation. The sugar produced is chiefly consumed on the island. There is only one steam sugar-mill, which belongs to the Sultan. The rice grown on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba is of a very superior quality; but since the general introduction of the clove, its cultivation has been so much neglected that, instead of exporting rice as formerly, it is now imported into Zanzibar to the value of £38,000 annually. It is chiefly brought from Malabar and the west coast of Madagascar. Coffee, nutmegs, pepper and cinnamon also grow well; but no attention is paid to their cultivation. Wild indigo and sarsaparilla grow in the woods. The nutmeg trees, planted for ornament in the Sultan's gardens, grow in great perfection.]

27. Leopards and wild hog are said to be numerous in the remote parts of the island; but in the neighbourhood of the town and in the more populous parts there are no wild animals, with the exception of the civet cat and a species of mongoose. I have never seen a snake or any venomous reptile; and if any exist, they must be very scarce. There are no game birds, deer or hares on the island, unless in the remote parts. A few antelope and hog-deer are found on the small islands in the harbour; but they have been brought from Muscat. Hippopotami are very numerous in all the creeks and rivers on the coast; and the forests are said to abound with lions, leopards and other wild animals.

28. The harbour of Zanzibar is very commodious, and perfectly safe at all seasons, being protected on the west and north sides by four islands connected by coral reefs, which break the swell and cause the harbour to be always smooth. It is sheltered from the south winds by the tongue of land on which the town stands. Vessels anchor in from seven to nine fathoms water, a few yards from the shore, and can be hauled up on the sandy beach for repairs without danger. To the north-east of the town is an extensive creek, in which vessels of 300 to 400 tons can be careened in security. With a very little expense it might be converted into an excellent dock. The supply of water to the shipping is always abundant from the Boobooboo aqueduct, which is six miles north of the anchorage. There are no docks, wharfs or piers. During the north-east monsoon, vessels bound to Zanzibar generally come round the north end of the island; and during the south-west monsoon, they enter the channel from the south. There is good anchorage in the channel, and also off Tombata—a small island near the north end of Zanzibar. The current outside generally sets to the north with great force,

and a vessel once set to leeward loses many days, and has generally to make a long stretch to the eastward before making the channel. During the north-east monsoon, when the dhows and bugalows from India, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and northern ports on the coast of Africa, visit Zanzibar, the harbour presents a very animated scene, being crowded with native craft; and a very extensive trade is carried on. Some of the dhows are from 200 to 400 tons burden. Directly the southerly winds set in, they all hurry away to return north, many of them laden with slaves, either secretly purchased or kidnapped from the town or plantations. In this way, probably between three and four thousand Africans are carried north, and sold into slavery every year. There are no harbour or pilot dues, nor any charges upon shipping whatsoever beyond the import duty of 5 per cent.

29. The only military force kept up by the Sultan consists of about fourteen hundred irregulars, chiefly Beloochees, Mekranees and Arabs from the coast of Hadramaut, with a few Turkish and Albanian gunners. These troops garrison Zanzibar, and the forts of Keelwa, Mombassa, Pemba, etc. They are armed with carbines and muskets; their pay is from three to five dollars a month; they are commanded by Jemadars, who receive from twenty to thirty dollars a month. They are utterly useless, except to control the Negro tribes on the coast, being arrant cowards, without any order or discipline; they wear no uniform, and their arms are seldom or ever cleaned. Recent events have shown that, on an expected invasion, the Sultan can soon collect from 20,000 to 30,000 armed men from the coast of Africa, in addition to those required for the defence of the towns and forts on the coast; but they have no proper leaders, and are contemptible as soldiers. The Sultan has a great number of guns of English construction, but neither ammunition nor carriages for them; recently two field pieces were equipped after considerable delay, but all the shot for them was expended in one day.

30. The naval force of the Sultan consists of the following vessels:—

<i>Shah Allum</i> , Frigate	..	..	..	52	guns
<i>Piedmontese</i> , Frigate	..	..	..	36	„
<i>Victoria</i> , Frigate	..	..	..	32	„
<i>Iskunder Shah</i> , Corvette	..	..	..	22	„
<i>Artemise</i> , Corvette	..	..	..	22	„
<i>City of Poona</i> , Brig	..	..	..	4	„
<i>Africa</i> , Brig	..	..	..	4	„
<i>Taj</i> , Brig	..	..	..	4	„

Some of these vessels are usually at anchor in Zanzibar harbour with their masts and yards struck; the others are kept ready for sea, and occasionally visit the Comoro Isles, Mozambique, Madagascar, etc. Men accustomed to the sea can be procured in considerable numbers at Zanzibar. The coasting vessels and dhows belonging to the various ports of the Zanzibar dominions are very numerous, and carry on an extensive trade with the Comoro Isles, the Portuguese ports in the Mozambique, the west coast of Madagascar, and the mainland of Africa. They also trade to Arabia, Kutch, Bombay and the Malabar coast. Zanzibar is the nursery for most of the "Seedees," or African seamen found in nearly all the native craft navigating the Indian Ocean.

31. A duty of 5 per cent is levied on all foreign articles imported into any of the ports of the Zanzibar dominions, with the exception of bullion. No articles are prohibited, and no monopoly of any article is allowed. No duty is levied on any article exported. The import duty of 5 per cent is levied on all articles transhipped from one vessel into another in any port of the Zanzibar dominions, unless the cargo be only transhipped or landed during the repair of such vessel. The customs are farmed to an Indian Banian for the sum of 196,000 German crowns per annum; and as there are no taxes of any description levied by the Sultan, the customs form the whole amount of the public revenue, with the exception of an annual tax of ten thousand crowns paid by the "Mukhadim" — a race of people who inhabit the more distant parts of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and who were the possessors of these islands prior to their conquest by the Arabs. They differ little in race and features from the tribes on the opposite mainland. They were called "Mukhadim" by the Arabs to denote their servile condition, the name being a corruption of the Arabic word "Khadim" — a slave or servant. The tax is levied in lieu of corvée or forced labour, and is payable by each head of a family. It was formerly reckoned at two dollars annually per family, but has been considerably reduced by the present Sultan. The Mukhadim are governed by their own chiefs, and have a Sultan, the descendant of the former rulers. He has now but little authority, and is responsible for the due payment of the capitation tax. He resides in a large castle in the centre of the island, and his tribe have a considerable town on the east coast of it. In time of war his influence is of great weight, as it entirely depends upon him whether the Mukhadim respond to the call to arms of their Arab ruler.

32. There is no tax or any other charge upon the land in any part of the Zanzibar dominions; it is the absolute freehold of the

proprietor, who is, however, according to the feudal system of the Arabs, bound to assemble his followers, and aid the Sultan in time of war. A great portion of the land in Zanzibar is uncultivated; and, notwithstanding slave labour being so abundant, the value of landed property is very small, and is annually decreasing, owing to the fall in the value of cloves, and the Arabs being too indolent to pay attention to the produce of other articles. The soil being so rich, with such a favourable climate, would be a mine of wealth to a more industrious race. A large estate may be purchased for about five thousand dollars.

33. The sale of spirituous liquors, opium, etc., is permitted; no tax is exacted from the vendors, and the sale is not subject to any regulations or restrictions. Large quantities of vile French spirits are now imported, and all classes of the inhabitants are becoming addicted to drinking; even the Arabs of the more respectable class appear to have banished all restraint, and the females equally indulge in it. Very few persons of any class at Zanzibar smoke tobacco; it is strictly forbidden in the presence of the Sultan. The kaeon and nargili—so common in most Mahommedan countries—are very seldom seen at Zanzibar. The use of opium and other intoxicating stimulants is said to have much increased lately; in fact, since the death of the late Imaum, Syud Said, who was greatly feared and respected, the chief check upon the vicious propensities of the Arabs has been removed. Since the death of the late Imaum, numbers of sodomites have come from Muscat, and these degraded wretches openly walk about dressed in female attire, with veils on their faces.

34. The trade of Zanzibar is entirely the growth of the last few years, during which several French, American and Hamburg mercantile houses have been established. The value of the aggregate trade of the port of Zanzibar during the year 1859 amounted to £1,664,577, viz.:—

Imports	..	..	..	..	£908,911
Exports	..	..	..	..	£755,666

£1,664,577

The Commander of Her Majesty's ship *Imogene*, which visited Zanzibar in 1834, states—"The port of Zanzibar has little or no trade; that to Bombay consists in the export of a little gum and ivory brought from the mainland, with a few cloves, the only produce of the island; and the import trade is chiefly dates, and

cloth from Muscat to make turbans. These things are sent in small country vessels, which make only one voyage a year; the trade is consequently very trifling." The trade which has been created subsequent to the above period is certainly surprising, when it is considered that it has been developed under the primitive rule of an Arab chief; and it affords a proof of the great resources of Eastern Africa.

35. Zanzibar is now the chief market in the world for the supply of ivory, gum copal and cloves. During 1859, the export of ivory amounted to 488,600 lbs., of the value of £146,666 18s.; that of gum copal to 875,875 lbs., value £37,166 18s.; and that of cloves to 4,860,100 lbs., value £55,666. The ivory is all brought from the interior of Africa, in exchange for American cottons, Venetian beads and brass wire. The gum copal is dug from the earth a few miles inland on the coast of Africa; an inferior sort is also found on the Island of Zanzibar; the supply is supposed to be inexhaustible, and the production only limited by the indolence of the Negroes, who will only dig enough to supply their daily wants. The copal is found in plains destitute of trees. In the Island of Zanzibar it is chiefly found in barren, sandy spots, where nothing grows. The natives, and also the Banians who purchase the copal from the diggers, believe it to be a resinous deposit of the earth, as it is never found near trees. The cloves are entirely the produce of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The first clove trees were introduced about thirty years ago from the Mauritius; being found to thrive, they were extensively planted, and have now become the most valuable production of these islands. The average annual crop of cloves is about 200,000 faraslaks, or 7,000,000 lbs., valued at about £85,000. Owing to the large quantity grown, the price has fallen about 70 per cent within a few years. During 1859, cowries to the amount of 8,016,000 lbs., value £51,444 9s., were exported to the west coast of Africa. The other chief articles of export are sesamum, red pepper, cocoanuts, rafters, cocoanut oil, and copra (dried cocoanut).

36. The sesamum is all grown on the mainland near Lamoo, to the north of Zanzibar; its cultivation only commenced a few years ago, as a demand for it arose for exportation to France; the quantity exported from Zanzibar in 1859 amounted to 8,338,360 lbs., value £20,800; besides which, a considerable quantity is exported direct from the coast.

37. The chief articles of import from foreign countries are American and English cottons, Indian dyed cloths, Muscat silk, and cotton loongees and turbans, Venetian beads, brass wire,

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muskets, gunpowder, rice, wheat, jowarree and ghee. The amount of these articles imported during 1859 was as follows:—

		£	s.	d.
American cotton	6,950 bales	93,744	9	0
English cotton	150,300 pieces	37,711	3	0
Indian	204,500 pieces	53,777	18	0
Muscat loongees and turbans	200 bales	11,888	18	0
Venetian beads	868 barrels	21,879	17	0
Brass wire	2,000 barrels	7,555	12	0
Muskets	22,780	18,840	5	0
Gunpowder	11,912 barrels	8,874	15	0
Rice	18,640,000 lbs.	38,444	17	0
Wheat and jowarree	3,831,000 lbs.	7,022	5	0
Ghee	175,000 lbs.	7,778	2	0

The following table of Imports and Exports exhibits the trade of Zanzibar during 1859:—

Countries	Imports from	Exports to	Total
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Great Britain ..	—	5,566 15 0	5,566 15 0
United States ..	126,398 16 0	118,688 18 0	245,087 14 0
France ..	114,790 18 0	55,000 0 0	169,790 18 0
Hamburg ..	101,296 18 0	35,777 15 0	137,074 13 0
British India ..	99,606 15 0	105,888 18 0	205,495 13 0
Kutch ..	57,872 0 0	69,664 10 0	127,536 10 0
Singapore ..	7,895 0 0	—	7,895 0 0
Arabia ..	17,606 19 0	23,377 14 6	40,984 13 6
East coast of Africa	363,666 15 0	274,200 0 0	637,866 15 0
West coast of Africa	—	51,111 2 6	51,111 2 6
Madagascar ..	19,777 14 0	16,411 2 0	36,188 16 0
Total ..	908,911 15 0	755,686 15 0	1,664,598 10 0

38. The tonnage of the merchant shipping entered at Zanzibar during the past year amounted to 23,340 tons, being 3,619 tons less than in the previous year. Several circumstances have occurred to check the trade of this port during the past year—the visitation of cholera in the early part of it; a threatened invasion from Muscat; and the rebellion of one of the chief tribes of Arabs against the Sultan; and to these causes must be added the very extensive slave trade carried on by the French at the ports on the east coast south of Zanzibar, as so many of the country craft, which would otherwise

have been engaged in conveying produce to Zanzibar, were more profitably employed in transporting the slaves from the coast to the French depots at Nossi Beh and Mayotta. I heard of fourteen slave ships being at Nossi Beh at one time, waiting for cargoes. Until stopped by the French Government, this traffic in slaves threatened to entirely ruin all legitimate trade on the east coast of Africa.

39. The following table shows the arrivals of merchant shipping at Zanzibar during the last five years:—

Nationality of Vessels	1855		1856		1857		1858		1859	
	Vessels	Tons	Vessels	Tons	Vessels	Tons	Vessels	Tons	Vessels	Tons
British ..	2	409	2	1,167	3	770	4	1,166	1	493
Hamburg ..	15	3,689	20	5,438	22	5,488	23	6,230	17	4,428
United States ..	28	9,142	24	7,215	35	11,481	32	9,962	35	10,890
French ..	13	5,523	22	10,079	24	8,319	18	6,186	12	3,066
Arab ..	1	868	1	250	6	2,588	6	1,864	9	3,430
Portuguese	—	—	3	930	2	94	1	79	2	151
Prussian ..	—	—	1	600	—	—	1	600	—	—
Spanish ..	2	460	2	460	2	680	1	230	3	680
Danish ..	—	—	1	450	1	402	1	202	1	202
Hanoverian	—	—	—	—	1	419	2	440	—	—
Total ..	61	20,091	76	26,589	96	30,241	89	26,959	80	23,340

40! The trade with Kutch, Bombay and Arabia is almost entirely carried on in dhows and buttelas, of which no register is kept, nor is there any register of the number of country craft belonging to the port. The trade between the United States and Zanzibar is increasing; whilst the arrivals of French shipping during the past year were 54 per cent less than in 1858, 64 per cent less than in 1857, and 70 per cent less than in 1856. The return of trade at Aden for 1858-59 shows a still more rapid decrease in the French trade at that port, the exports to France in that year having been 86 per cent less than during the previous year. The market for French manufactured articles at Zanzibar is very trifling. Of the total imports from France during the past year, amounting to 516,451 dollars, 400,000 dollars consisted of bullion, and 41,000 dollars of Venetian beads. The exports to France consist chiefly of sesamum and copra (dried cocoanut), and cowries are exported in

French vessels to the west coast of Africa. The trade between France and Zanzibar will probably altogether cease in a few years, as the American and Hamburg merchants are driving the French out of the market.

41. There is no direct trade between Great Britain and Zanzibar, but the chief part of the imports from India, Singapore and Hamburg consists of articles of British manufacture; and nearly the whole of the foreign trade passes through the hands of the natives of India. The ivory is consigned to them from the interior; the gum copal is purchased from the diggers by Banians residing on the coast; and the entire cargoes of American and Hamburg vessels are purchased by them. Besides natives of India, the foreign mercantile houses established at Zanzibar consist of three Hamburg, three United States and two French. There are also Consuls of France, the United States and Hamburg. The first time a trading vessel from the United States visited Zanzibar was in 1830; for some years only a few bales of cotton cloth could be disposed of—the Arabs were in a state of poverty, and had neither money nor goods to give in exchange. No vessel was able to procure a cargo anywhere on the east coast; almost the only trade carried on was the export of slaves to the Island of Bourbon and the Persian Gulf. As the amount of produce for exportation is limited, there is keen competition amongst the foreign merchants to procure cargoes, especially for the ivory and gum copal. The United States vessels, after landing cargo at Zanzibar, usually proceed to Aden or Muscat, and ship coffee on dates, returning to Zanzibar to fill up with ivory, copal, hides, etc.

42. The unit of weight is the "Wakiah," which corresponds to the weight of one German crown. Most articles are sold retail in the shops and markets by the mun, which corresponds to the weight of forty-eight German crowns, and is $1\frac{6}{10}$ oz. less than 3 lbs. English. Ivory, cloves, gums, coffee, etc., are sold by the faraslah, which is equal to 35 lbs. English. Meat is sold by the rattul, which is a fraction less than 1 lb. English. Grain, cowries, salt and articles in bulk are sold by the jiglah, which varies from 350 lbs. for sifted grain, cleaned cowries, salt, etc., to 460 lbs. for these articles when brought in bulk from the coast of Africa. The measures of length are the "Durrah," or cubit equal to 18 inches, and the "War" equal to the English yard.

43. The only coins in circulation are the Maria Theresa dollar or German crown, and the copper pice coined at the Bombay mint. Maria Theresa dollars of the die of 1780 are still coined at the Vienna mint expressly to supply the demand for them in Eastern

Africa. The number of copper pice obtainable for one dollar varies, according to the supply, from 130 to 110. There is generally a great scarcity of copper coin, as the British Indian pice is coming into circulation all long the east coast of Africa. Maria Theresa dollars form the circulating medium on the opposite mainland as far as Mozambique; but in the interior payments are made in cubits of American cloth, or in Venetian beads. These articles form the circulating medium all over Uniamesi or country of the moon, and the extensive dominions of the Casembé. American cottons are known everywhere by the name "Merikani." A considerable amount of Spanish and English gold coin is brought to Zanzibar from the ports in the Mozambique, where it is received in payment for slaves exported. The English sovereign passes for $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ German crowns. The rate of interest usually charged at Zanzibar is from 8 to 12 per cent per annum; it is not legally recognized by the Arab authorities, being contrary to the law of the Koran, but is always charged in an indirect manner in transactions with Arabs.

44. There are several navigable rivers on the east coast of Africa within the Zanzibar dominions, but they have never been explored far by Europeans, and very little is known concerning them. The chief are the River Lindy, situated in about 10 degrees south; the Roovooma in about $10^{\circ} 25'$ south, and which is navigable for about fifty miles from the sea, and is said to be the largest river on the coast north of the Zambesi. The Masoonga, Lufiji, Shamba, Durnford River and Juba, are broad, deep streams, but have never been explored.

45. The chief ports are Zanzibar, situated about the centre of the west side of the island of the same name; Port "Chak Chak," situated on the west side of the Island of Pemba, which has a good and secure anchorage, and is a safe, commodious harbour. On the mainland, Port Keelwa, in about 10 degrees south, where the chief slave trade on the coast is carried on; Keelwa Kivingia, a short distance north of the former, which is the destination of all the slave caravans coming from the great lake of Nyassa, and the country of Tyahow; also Manzoo Toongee, Kiswarra, Kaoli, Bhoweni, Buromaji, Panzani, Mombassa, Port Durnford, Lamoo, Brava, Murka and Magadosha, all situated between $2^{\circ} 30'$ north and 10° south latitude. The best harbours on the coast are "Kiswarra," situated south of Keelwa, which is said to be the best on the coast, being safe and capacious, and having from six to ten fathoms water throughout; Keelwa Harbour, which is protected on the sea face by the island of the same name; Mombassa, of which Owen remarks—"There is, perhaps, not a more magnificent harbour in the world." It pos-

sesses good riding ground at the entrance, sheltered by an extensive reef on either side—an anchorage which, from its vicinity to the coast, constantly enjoys the sea breeze, and a steep, rocky shore, in many places rendering wharfs unnecessary, and in others forming a shelving, sandy strand, where vessels can be hauled up and careened, favoured by a tide rising twelve or fourteen feet. The Island of Mombassa is three miles long by two broad, capable, with very little labour, of being rendered almost impregnable. The surrounding country is fertile and healthy, there being no swamps nor stagnant pools.

46. Pemba, called by the Arabs “Al Khuthra,” or the green island, is a long, low island of considerable extent, being about fifty miles in length. It is covered with woods and plantations, and has a considerable population, chiefly of the Mukhadim. On the western side are numerous creeks and inlets. It is exceedingly fertile, and produces a great deal of very fine rice, yams, cloves, etc. A great many cattle and goats are brought to Zanzibar from Pemba, and it carries on an extensive coasting trade. It abounds also in fine timber, which is used in building dhows and boats. It is situated about eighteen miles from the mainland and twenty-five from Zanzibar. No soundings can be obtained between Pemba and the mainland, nor between it and Zanzibar.

47. There are only two towns on the Island of Zanzibar, one of which is entirely inhabited by the Mukhadim, and is seldom visited by any other class. The chief towns on the coast are Keelwa, Mombassa, Brava, Lamoo and Magadosha. They have all much declined from their former state of opulence. There are also many ruins of large towns which were destroyed by *those barbarous plunderers*—the Portuguese. The chief of these was Melinda, which was a wealthy, flourishing city, carrying on an extensive trade with India, Persia and Arabia; but the *blighting, bigoted* rule of the Portuguese soon caused it to decline, and in less than a century after its conquest, Melinda had ceased to be a place of any importance.

48. The earliest settlement of Arabs on the east coast of Africa of which there is any authentic account, is that of the El-Harth tribe from the neighbourhood of Bahrein, who, about the year A.D. 924, founded the cities of Magadosha and Brava. About sixty years later, the city of Keelwa was founded by a colony of Persians from Shiraz, and from these settlements the Arabs and Persians gradually extended their authority over the whole of the east coast as far as Sofala, and also possessed themselves of the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Monfea. For several centuries the Arab

settlements formed a number of flourishing republics, governed by elders elected by the citizens; they carried on a great trade with India, Persia and Arabia. When Vasco da Gama first visited this coast in 1498, he found that Mozambique, Keelwa, Mombassa, Melinda, Brava and Magadosha were flourishing, well-built cities, the Arab inhabitants living in luxury, and the women clothed in rich silks and satins. Numerous merchants from Gujarat and Kutch also resided in these cities, carrying on an extensive trade in ivory, gold dust, gums, copper, etc., which they exchanged for the rich cloths and muslins of India.

49. Vasco da Gama arrived at Zanzibar in 1499, and was well received by the inhabitants, who were Mahommedans. They recognized the sovereignty of Portugal over the island in 1503, and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The conquest of the cities on the coast by the Portuguese invaders, and the destruction of their commerce, soon followed, and both conquerors and conquered gradually lapsed into a state of barbarism, from which they have never recovered. Instead of encouraging commerce and communication with the interior, they have devoted all their energies to carrying on the slave trade, and have thus proved the greatest curse to East Africa. In the year 1698, the inhabitants of Mombassa, rendered desperate by the tyranny of their Portuguese rulers, sent a deputation to Said bin Sultan, the Imaum of Oman, requesting his aid to free them from their oppressors; the Imaum, in consequence, sent a naval force which wrested Mombassa from the Portuguese. Keelwa and the other Portuguese settlements soon afterwards submitted to the Imaum, and the Portuguese were massacred or expelled from all their possessions north of Mozambique; but about the year 1728, the disturbances in Oman caused the Imaum to withdraw from the coast of Africa, and the Portuguese obtained possession again of their former territories, and re-established their authority along the whole coast from Patta to Keelwa.

50. A few years after, the Portuguese were again expelled, and the Imaum sent three ships from Oman, which took possession of Mombassa. The Island of Zanzibar first came under the authority of the Oman Arabs in 1784, when it submitted to an expedition sent from Muscat by the Imaum, Said bin Ahmed. Until the accession of the late Imaum Syed Said bin Sultan, in 1806, most of the territories which now comprise the dominions of Zanzibar were governed by their own chiefs, sometimes with a nominal subjection to the Imaum of Oman. In 1746, the inhabitants of the island and city of Mombassa elected Ali bin Osman as their Sultan, and threw off all allegiance to the Imaum. At the accession

of Syud Said, Mombassa was governed by an independent chief by name Sheikh Ahmed. Patta, then a considerable city, was governed by the Sultan Foom Amadi. This chief died in 1807, when the succession was disputed by his son, Foom Aloti, and his son-in-law, Wazeer, whose father had been assassinated by Foom Amadi. It ended in the triumph of Wazeer, who was elected Sultan under the name of Sultan Ahmed. Wazeer having attained power through the assistance of the Chief of Mombassa, it was agreed that Patta should, in future, be a dependency of Mombassa, and that an agent of the Mombassa Chief should reside there. The followers of Foom Aloti retired to Lamoo, which city refused to acknowledge the authority of the new Sultan of Patta, in consequence of which the Chief of Mombassa marched against Lamoo with a large force, but was defeated.

51. In order to guard against future attacks from Mombassa, the inhabitants of Lamoo claimed the protection of the Imaum Syud Said, and sent an envoy to Muscat. The Imaum consented to send a governor to Lamoo, and selected for this office one Kaleef bin Nassir, who, by order of the Imaum, erected a fort there.

52. On the death of the Chief of Mombassa, in 1814, his son, Abdallah, refused to recognize the Suzeraineté of the Imaum; and instead of sending the customary annual present to Muscat, he sent a suit of armour, a little gunpowder, and a few bullets as a defiance. Shortly after, the town and district of Brava submitted to the new Chief of Mombassa. In the meantime, the late Sultan of Patta had proceeded to Muscat to claim the assistance of the Imaum, and returned with a force which succeeded in obtaining his election as Sultan of Patta, under the sovereign authority of the Imaum Syud Said. In 1822, in consequence of the encroachments of the Sultan of Mombassa, the Imaum sent a naval force to compel the submission of the chiefs on the coast to his authority: and the Sultans of Patta, Brava and other chiefs, by a formal act, agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Imaum.

53. About this time, Mahomed bin Nasir, who had been appointed by the Imaum governor of Zanzibar, took possession of the Island of Pemba; and the Sultan of Mombassa, Suleiman bin Ali, fearing that the Imaum intended to attack his territories, placed the island and fort of Mombassa under British protection, and the British flag was hoisted on the 3rd of December 1823, with the consent of the population. On the 7th of February 1824, Captain Owen arrived in the British frigate *Leven*, and concluded a convention, by which the port of Mombassa and its dependencies, including the Island of Pemba, and the coast comprised between Melinda and the River

Pangani, were placed under the protectorate of Great Britain, under the following conditions, viz.:—

- 1st.—That Great Britain should reinstate the Chief of Mombassa in his former possessions.
- 2nd.—That the sovereignty of the State should continue to be exercised by the Chief of the Mazareh tribe, and be hereditary in his family.
- 3rd.—That an Agent of the protecting Government should reside with the Chief.
- 4th.—That the Customs revenue should be equally divided between the two contracting parties.
- 5th.—That trade with the interior be permitted to British subjects.
- 6th.—That the slave trade be abolished at Mombassa.

54. The English protectorate over Mombassa not having been ratified by the British Government, in January 1828 the Imaum, Syud Said, fitted out a considerable expedition and sailed for Mombassa, which surrendered to him; and having taken possession of the fort and left a garrison, he proceeded with his fleet to Zanzibar, which he then visited for the first time. Since this period, the coast has remained in possession of the Imaum's family. The Mazareh chiefs of Mombassa were treacherously seized some years after their submission, and transported to Bunder Abbass on the coast of Persia, where most of them ended their days, after a lingering imprisonment. In 1843, the African tribes at Sewee near Brava, having rebelled against the Imaum, he dispatched a force of 1,600 men and several ships of war to reduce them to submission; but his troops met with a signal defeat; all the guns were captured, and the commander of the expedition—a chief by name Ali-bin Nassir, who had been Envoy to England from the Imaum—was killed, together with his sons. A great many of the troops were killed, and the survivors only escaped by getting on board the vessels. The guns captured were afterwards restored by the Sewee tribes on payment of a sum of money. Since this period peace has been maintained with slight interruptions, and been attended with comparative prosperity.

55. Recent discoveries have shown that the interior of the opposite mainland is a fine, healthy country, producing abundantly cotton, coffee, gums, grains and vegetables. Three vast lakes have recently been discovered, viz. the Nyassa, the Tanganyika and the Nyanza. Should the great lake of Nyassa prove to be connected with the northern branch of the Zambesi, it will be accessible to steamers;

and not only may a considerable trade arise on it, but the main supply of slaves to the east coast can be intercepted. Most of the Negro tribes in the interior are quiet, industrious people. The Manganga tribes, near Lake Nyassa, grow a vast quantity of cotton: and Doctor Livingstone states all classes are employed in spinning and weaving it. Unfortunately the slave trade has recently extended to these industrious tribes, and many of the Manganga are now amongst the slaves brought to Zanzibar from Keelwa.

56. Were it not for the rapacity and extortions of the Portuguese authorities, there would soon be a valuable trade at the Mozambique ports. At present, goods are actually taken for hundreds of miles on men's heads through the African continent to the Portuguese settlements on the Zambesi, and sold cheaper than if imported by sea at Mozambique or Quillemane, and subjected to the charges of the Portuguese custom-house. Even at Mozambique—the seat of a Portuguese governor-general for the last three centuries—no Portuguese dare venture five miles into the interior, as, owing to the slave trade, the natives are so hostile: and thus the interior has to this day remained totally unknown to them. Rich copper mines are known to exist some distance in the interior; and the copper in pigs is sometimes brought to the coast and exported to Kutch. Specimens of malachite from these mines are also brought to Zanzibar. There are also copper mines near the coast in the neighbourhood of Mombassa. Ironstone is abundant, but is only worked by the natives to supply their own wants. Arab traders from Zanzibar frequently remain travelling about the interior for several years, collecting ivory, gums, etc. Recently an Arab has returned to Zanzibar after an absence of sixteen years in the interior, during which he crossed the continent to Loanda, on the west coast, and was met by Dr Livingstone near the Zambesi.

57. Should the Zanzibar dominions remain at peace, trade will probably continue to increase, and the towns of the east coast of Africa gradually recover the prosperous condition they had attained before the invasion of the Portuguese. The harbour of Zanzibar is the most commodious and safe on the east coast of Africa, and bids fair to become the chief emporium of foreign trade on this coast. The interior is gradually becoming better known through the enterprise of European travellers. An enterprising and scientific German traveller, Dr A. Roscher, has recently reached the lake of Nyassa, being the first white man who has ever done so. He says he never saw a finer country. A few days' journey inland from Mombassa are vast mountains, which are said to be covered with perpetual snow. The trade of Zanzibar with the Comoro Isles and

Madagascar is increasing, and a taste for the productions of Europe and America is spreading amongst all classes. The greatest drawback to the prosperity of these countries is the extensive slave trade, which is depopulating vast districts, and keeps the tribes in perpetual warfare with each other to supply the demand. /

(Signed) C. P. RIGBY, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar.

British Consulate, Zanzibar, 1st July, 1860.

APPENDIX III

THE SLAVE TRADE IN DISGUISE

To the Editor of the *Evening Mail*

SIR,—About the middle of last month I was at Port Louis, Mauritius, on my way from Australia to Europe, in the steamer *Salsette*, and having seen with my own eyes what I now proceed to describe to you, I have thought that it might not be uninteresting to your readers, the British public, to know what things are openly done, in this our day, towards the suppression of the slave trade. I must, in passing, allude to the exposure made in the affair of the *Charles et Georges*—which vessel, be it remembered, was seized in the neighbourhood of Madagascar by the Portuguese Government for being (in the plain sense of the agreements to which France is a party) engaged, contrary to law, in conveying slaves from that island or the main of Africa to the French island of Réunion, commonly known as the island of Bourbon—because the settlement of that business, by Portugal being bullied by France and the *Charles et Georges* given up, has, to my mind, a material bearing upon the facts I now describe.

At Mauritius and among planters and others connected with Réunion whom I met, conversed, and travelled with, the trade in African free (?) labour is openly justified. Estates are advertised in Réunion newspapers with so many African labourers “given in” or “attached to the soil,” as you may prefer expressing it. Agreements with these free labourers, who are brought over constantly and by thousands from Madagascar and the other side of the Mozambique Channel, are sold, and by auction, at large premiums.

The farce of entering into agreements with these slaves is played by middlemen, generally African, who have earned, or are supposed to have earned, money as free labourers themselves, and who go to and fro and appear before the magistrates when necessary to declare that the agreements have all been entered into voluntarily by the slaves. But it is openly avowed, by planters and residents, that the arrangements are made with certain chiefs on the island of Madagascar, or main of Africa, and that the slaves (for I can call them by no other name) are brought over with all the appliances for coercion or punishment, and in the approved mode of packing on slave decks by sailing ships or by the steamer *Mascarègues*, which vessel I left lying in the harbour of Port Louis, *Mauritius*,

actually coaling with British coal, alongside of Her Majesty's gunboat *Lynx*, which smart and powerful little man-of-war is, by a fiction of speech, stated to be employed at this moment in the suppression of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa.

The steamer *Mascarègues* is a long, large, powerful vessel. I was informed that she is French (she showed French colours), that she is fitted, and known to be fitted, with all the appliances of regular slave traffic; and there she was, and thence she goes in monthly or bi-monthly trips to Madagascar, thence to Réunion with free labourers, and round again across the sixty miles which divide the French from the English island to coal in a British colony under the eyes and guns of British cruisers.

Now, I can have no conceivable objection to this state of affairs if it be thoroughly understood by my fellow subjects at home; and if it be the meaning of our proceedings on the coast of Africa that these things are to be done before the face of day, or that some instructions to leave such ships alone since the *Charles et Georges* business have been sent to our naval officers in command of gunboats or other vessels armed to put down the traffic in flesh and blood.

But in this stirring time of questionable understandings with imperial despots, and a growing desire to know what are the relations of our glorious country with certain foreign nations, I should like to know for what so many thousand lives of Britain's noblest and bravest have succumbed to the pestilential miasmata of the African coast: and for what so many millions of British treasure have been and are still being spent, if a secret understanding is to silence the *Lynx's* guns and blind the *Lynx's* eyes, while the *Mascarègues* or other French ship or ships can carry on the slave trade in disguise.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN AUSTRALIAN

Great Western Hotel, April 20th

APPENDIX IV

SLAVE TRADE (ZANZIBAR)

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 22 February 1859;—for,

“COPIES or EXTRACTS of the LETTERS of the Government of *Bombay* to Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for *India*, or the Court of Directors, forwarding Letters written in August and September 1858, by Captain *Rigby*, the Company’s Agent at *Zanzibar*, on the subject of the SLAVE TRADE at *Zanzibar* and along the *Mozambique Coast*.”

India Office,
3 March 1859.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Department.

(*Mr. Kinmaird.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
7 March 1859.

(Translation.)

From Majid bin Said, Sultan of *Zanzibar* and *Sowahil*, to His Excellency the Governor of *Bourbon*, dated the 9th day of Mohurrum, 1275 Hijra, corresponding to 19 August 1858.

To His Excellency Baron Darrican, Governor of *Bourbon*,
and its Dependencies.

After salutation,

WE have received your exalted letter, and have understood the friendly expressions it contained, and Commander Méquet arrived here, and we have been much pleased at his safe journey; and we have understood that which he related to us verbally, and we have been honoured with the wishes which he expressed on behalf of the French Government relating to these countries. We will comply with every wish of the French Government except in what relates to slaves; for we cannot act in violation of the treaties which have for many years existed between us and the British Government; for any infringement of those treaties would be very hurtful to us, and we feel certain that the Emperor of the French does not wish us to depart from our written engagements; we do not forbid any

free persons who wish to embark from going wheresoever they please; and we, if not please God, will make the French Emperor acquainted with this, and make us acquainted with everything else that you may require (*lit.* the sign is with you for anything you require here).

(signed) *Majid bin Said.*

(True translated purport.)

Zanzibar,
21 August 1858.

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent.

No. 4 of 1854.

(No. 4.—Slave Trade.)

To the Right Honourable the Earl of *Clarendon*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

My Lord,

Zanzibar, 13 April 1854.

I HAVE the honour to submit for your Lordship's information, that a question of difficulty has arisen between the French Government and his Highness the Imaum of Muscat, relative to procuring slaves from the territories of the Imaum, to be carried to Bourbon and other French colonies; but which slaves, after they have been furnished by French dealers, are to be designated free labourers or "engagés," and to be procured in the following manner, viz.: the French dealer says to the slave broker or other proprietor of slaves, "I wish to engage this slave or these slaves; for how much will you consent to make him or them over to me as a freeman or freemen?" The price being agreed on, the slave is to be taken before the cazee or judge, when the proprietor says, "I make this man or these men free, therefore I want you to give a certificate of his or their freedom;" which being granted, the slave or slaves are made over to the French dealer to be taken away as a free labourer or labourers, to be sent to Bourbon or elsewhere, to labour for the space of five years, or whatever term the dealer stipulates for; at the end of which term he is to be a freeman to do as he pleases, and during the time of his servitude he is to be paid two dollars per month, and to receive rations.

His Highness the Imaum agrees to allow all free men to go to Bourbon on such terms, but his Highness says he cannot allow the French dealers to buy the slave just imported from Africa, and who has no idea of his position even on being made a free man, on being purchased from the slave broker or other proprietor, to be taken in this manner by the French dealers. Such is contrary to

the Mahommedan law, and the Imaum considers such a way of procuring slaves under the name of free labourers to be at variance with the spirit of the treaty between his Highness and Great Britain of the 10th of September 1822, concluded by Captain Moresby, of Her Majesty's ship *Menai*, for the prevention of the sale of slaves to European nations by the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat.

The French Admiral, L'Amiral la Guerre, Commandant-en-chef la Division Navale de la Réunion, et de l'Indo-Chine, came here in the frigate *Jeanne d'Arc*, 44 guns, on the 4th of last December, and sailed on the 4th of January last; and during his stay here he had, along with the French Consul, Monsieur de Beligny, several interviews with the Imaum on this subject, and threatened the Imaum that if he would not consent to the French dealers obtaining labourers as they wished to do by paying the price of the slave to the broker or slave dealer, that the French Government would force him to comply; to which his Highness answered, that he was of course unable to resist the force of France, but that the Government with which he had a treaty for the prevention of the sale of slaves to Europeans would perhaps prevent France buying slaves in his territories. The admiral told the Imaum if they could not procure the labourers as they wished at Zanzibar, that French ships would go to the coast of Africa within his (the Imaum's) dominions to procure them, supported by French ships of war. The Imaum replied, "I have told you if you threaten to use force I cannot resist; but I do not consent."

A brig from Bourbon, the *Panther*, arrived on the 21st of last December, and sailed on the 21st of January, with 170 (one hundred and seventy) labourers, all slaves bought and made free during her stay here; and there is a bark here at present, which arrived from Bourbon on the 27th ultimo. She requires 400 slaves to be made over to her as free men, after the manner of those taken by the *Panther*, the brig from Bourbon, which sailed hence on the 21st of January last with the 170. The opinion of the people here is, that she will not obtain what she requires. The Arabs of Zanzibar are very averse to slaves being sold and taken away in this way by the French.

A Monsieur Bellman, an agent from Bourbon, who arrived here on the 27th ultimo, to procure labourers, told me they require 50,000 at present, and 10,000 every year to keep up the supply; and I have heard the French intend, if they find it difficult to procure the numbers of slaves they require, to make free labourers at Zanzibar, to establish agencies on the coast of Africa within the Imaum's territories for the purchase of the numbers required.

His Highness the Imaum has requested me to submit all these circumstances for your Lordship's consideration, and to request the favour of your advice and instructions as to how his Highness had best act, and to inform your Lordship that he considers himself and his dominions in every way at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government; and I beg respectfully to state that as it is desirable that your Lordship's reply to this letter may be received as soon as possible, if one copy was sent *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope to the Commodore with instructions to forward it to Zanzibar with dispatch, and another copy overland to the Government of Bombay, to be quickly forwarded, much serious evil to his Highness the Imaum may be prevented, for I see plainly the French are seeking a cause of quarrel with the Imaum; and they will seize upon some of the ports on the coast of Africa within his dominions, saying they have been forced to do so to protect French interests; and I most respectfully beg leave to assure your Lordship that something of this kind is most positively in contemplation by the French, and expected by the Imaum.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Atkins Hamerton,*

Major, H. M. Consul, and H. C. Agent in the
Territories of the Imaum of Muscat.

(True copy.)

Zanzibar,
20 August 1858.

(signed) *C. P. Rigby,* Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

(Slave Trade.—No. 1.)

To Major *Atkins Hamerton*, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 13 July 1854.

I HAVE received your despatch, Slave Trade, No. 4, of the 13th of April, by which it appears that a direct trade in slaves is being carried on by French agents between the territories of Muscat and the Island of La Réunion, and that this traffic is intended to be continued upon an extensive scale.

I have also received a letter relative to this matter from the Imaum, dated the 18th of April, and I have to instruct you to inform his Highness in reply that Her Majesty's Government are in communication with the French Government thereupon, and they trust that instructions may be sent to the Governor of La Réunion, and to the Commander-in-chief of the French naval forces on the East Coast of Africa, directing them to put a stop to the purchase of slaves in the territories of the Imaum.

Her Majesty's Government can only regard this mode of obtaining labourers for the island of Réunion in the light of a traffic in slaves, which the Imaum is, by his treaty engagements with Great Britain, bound to suppress.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Clarendon.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

20 August 1858.

M. le Ministre,

Paris, 31 July 1855.

I HAVE been desired by the Earl of Clarendon to bring the enclosed papers under your Excellency's notice. You will perceive that they state that an indirect trade in slaves is carried on under the French flag from ports on the East Coast of Africa to Bourbon.

I had occasion to address to your Excellency's predecessor, both verbally and in writing, more than once upon this subject, and I have now to express the hopes of Her Majesty's Government that your Excellency will have the whole matter carefully inquired into; and, if the facts are found to be as represented, their confident expectation that stringent orders will be issued for putting an end to a state of things which the Government of the Emperor cannot fail to disapprove.

I avail, &c.
(signed) *Cowley.*

A S. E. M. le Comte Walewski,
&c. &c. &c.

(True copy.)
(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Paris, le 4 Octobre 1855.

J'AVAIS appelé l'attention de M. l'Amiral Hamelin sur les détails que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser au sujet d'opérations de traite indirecte de noirs, accomplies sous pavillon Français à la Côte Oueste de Madagascar. J'ai la satisfaction de vous annoncer que le Département de la Marine avait déjà, avant la réception de ma lettre, envoyé des instructions sévères aux Gouverneurs de nos colonies, et que ces instructions ont été elles-mêmes prévenus par les mesures qu'avait prises à cet égard M. le Gouverneur de La Réunion. Cette initiative de M. Hubert Delisle est un sûr garant de la fermeté avec laquelle il saura faire observer

A. S. E. Lord Cowley,
&c. &c. &c.

(Slave Trade.—No. 3)
To the Earl of *Clarendon*, K.G., &c. &c. &c.

Count Walewski's note is satisfactory, inasmuch as it admits that the complaints of Her Majesty's Government were well founded. It remains to be seen whether, in consequence of measures taken by the French Government, such complaints will be unnecessary for the future.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cowley.*

(True copy.)
(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Hon. Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

20 August 1858.

(Slave Trade.—No. 1.)
To Major *Atkins Hamerton*, &c. &c. &c.

Sir, Foreign Office, 17 October 1855.

WITH reference to my despatch to you (Slave Trade, No. 1, of the 13th of July 1854), I transmit herewith, for your information, copies of a despatch, and of its enclosures, which I have received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, by which you will learn that the Governor of the Island of Bourbon has been instructed by the French Government to put a stop to every undertaking having for its object the indirect trade in negroes.

You will communicate the substance of the enclosed despatch to the Imaum of Muscat.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Clarendon.*

(True Copy.)

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Hon. Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

Zanzibar,
20 August 1858.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. L. Anderson*,
Secretary to Government.

(No. 19 of 1858.—Secret Department.)

From Captain *C. P. Rigby*, Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar,
to *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, 24 August 1858.

As there has been no British consul or agent in the dominions of his Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar since the death of the late Lieutenant-colonel Hamerton on the 5th of July 1857, I beg to report as follows, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, regarding the present state of affairs, and the political results which have ensued consequent upon the death of his late Highness the Imaum Sayyid Said, when his dominions were divided between his two sons, the present Sultans of Oman and Zanzibar.

2. On my arrival here on the 27th ultimo, I called on his Highness the Sultan Said Majid, in company with Commander Worsley, commanding the H. C. Corvette *Falkland*: his Highness was residing on board his flag ship the *Shah Alum*; he repeatedly expressed to me the great satisfaction he felt at again having a British resident here, and desired me to write to Government to this effect. Both Commander Worsley and myself were much struck with the expression of anxiety and suffering in his Highness's countenance, and I have since been informed that the intrigues of his next brother Syud Burghash have for some time caused him considerable uneasiness, and that he has latterly been low spirited, and frequently expressed the greatest anxiety for the arrival of an English consul, sending privately to the merchants, on the arrival of any vessel from India or Aden, to ascertain if one was coming, and pointing to the bare flag staff at the English Consulate, he would remark to those near him, "Ah! when shall I again see a flag hoisted there?" Some months ago, when out riding, his High-

ness was accidentally wounded by one of his attendants discharging his matchlock close to his side; the wadding entered his foot, and has caused him a considerable degree of suffering, and brought on fever.

3. Three or four days after the arrival of the *Falkland*, his Highness left his flag ship and returned to his palace on shore; and at a Durbar the following day, when he received the officers of the *Falkland*, we were immediately struck with the marked improvement in his Highness's appearance; so pleased and free from anxiety did he appear, that we could scarce recognize him as the same individual. I took the opportunity on this occasion to present to his Highness a letter from Her Majesty, and also one from the Earl of Clarendon, which had arrived some time previous, *viâ* Aden. The receipt of these letters, the first which he had received from Her Majesty's Government since his accession, caused him great satisfaction, and, added to the arrival of a ship of war from the Indian Government, have caused a feeling of stability and security amongst the inhabitants generally.

4. I have not seen Syud Burghash since my arrival. He has not called or sent me any message of welcome, as the other brothers of his Highness have done. He never attends the Durbar of his Highness, and is spoken of as a morose, discontented man, inimical to Europeans. He has no party in his favour here, but is said to be at the head of a party in Muscat, who hope to dispossess his brother Said Majid, with the aid of the Sooree Arabs, who visit this place in considerable numbers during the north-west monsoon.

5. I am happy to state that all classes here, the European and American merchants, the Indian traders and the Arabs, all bear testimony to the kind and amiable disposition of the present Sultan, his justice and liberal policy; they all consider him a worthy successor to his father. Although he succeeded to the Government so young, he has conciliated all classes, and at present all his dominions enjoy peace and prosperity; and as this port is rapidly becoming the chief emporium of the trade of the east coast of Africa, it is satisfactory that the Government has devolved on so promising a prince.

I have, &c.

(signed) C. P. Rigby, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

Zanzibar,
24 August 1858.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government.

(No. 21 of 1858.—Secret Department.)

From Captain *C. P. Rigby*, Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar,
to *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, Zanzibar, 13 September 1858.

IN connexion with the slave trade, which is being actively carried on by French vessels along the east coast of Africa, as reported by me in my letter to your address, No. 10 of 1858, dated 15th ultimo, I have the honour to report the following circumstances for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

2. About three weeks ago the commander and several of the crew of the French merchant ship *Anna* arrived here in a native boat from the Comoro isles, and reported that they had left the island of Comoro with 400 engaged negroes on board the *Anna*; and that about 18 hours afterwards the negroes armed themselves with billets of firewood and attacked the crew, some of whom were very severely beaten, but no lives were taken. The crew were permitted to lower the boats and escape in them. They state that shortly afterwards a heavy squall came on, and they lost sight of the vessel. The boats succeeded in reaching the Comoro isles, when some of them came here to report the circumstances.

3. Information has since been received by his Highness the Sultan Said Majid that the vessel was run aground near the River Lindy, situated in about 10 degrees south latitude, and the slaves on board all made their escape into the country. The governor, on the part of his Highness at Lindy, has taken charge of the vessel, and persons have been sent from here to navigate it to this port for delivery to the former commander.

4. So great a demand for slaves has been created by the French all along the coast to the south of the island of Zanzibar, that the price of them has lately almost doubled; and from conversations with Arabs here, I have ascertained that slaves are now taken long distances by land from the opposite main land of Africa to the ports situated to the south of the island of Monfea, in order to supply the French demand; also, that very few able-bodied slaves of either sex are now brought to Zanzibar for sale, as they are all taken south to supply this new market.

5. From information I have received here on this subject, I beg respectfully to express my conviction that unless a speedy stop be put to this new demand for slaves for exportation to the French colonies, it will completely ruin all legitimate trade on the east coast of Africa; the tribes will find slave-hunting so profitable, that

all other trade will be neglected. I have no doubt that already the news has travelled far over the interior that the white man is now the best customer to the slave dealer; that he pays a good price in ready money, and that, in consequence, many tribes which have hitherto brought ivory, gums, hides, &c., to the coast for sale, are now engaged in hunting and kidnapping their neighbours to sell to French ships, or to their native agents.

I have, &c.

(signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, 13 September 1858.

(True copies.)

(signed) *H. L. Anderson*,
Secretary to Government.

(No. 25 of 1858.—Secret Department.)

From Captain *C. P. Rigby*, Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar,
to *H. L. Anderson*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, 21 September 1858.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the accompanying translation of an Arabic letter, addressed by one of the principal merchants of the island of La Réunion to his Highness the Sultan Said Majid, in the month of April last year, as it affords a further proof of the undisguised slave trade the French inhabitants of that island are pursuing on the east coast of Africa.

2. The writer of the letter (Monsieur Runtoné or Rantonay) was for some time agent for his late Highness the Imam of Muscat, at the island of La Réunion.

3. A few days ago, whilst conversing with his Highness the Sultan Said Majid, regarding this slave trade, he alluded to the letters he had received on the subject from La Réunion, and sent me this letter as an example of what the French wished him to comply with.

I have, &c.

Zanzibar, (signed) *C. P. Rigby*, Captain,
21 September 1858. Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

(Translation.)

To his Highness Said Majid, Sultan of Zanzibar. After compliments.

I WAS much grieved to hear of the death of your Highness' father, the Imam of Muscat, which took place on the passage from Muscat to Zanzibar, after having arranged the affairs of Muscat and its neighbourhood, and giving tranquillity to those countries. I was anxiously awaiting his arrival in Zanzibar, for I was desirous of writing to him on various subjects. I wished to advise him to be supreme in his own territories, and give permission for the shipment of slaves, so that they might labour for wages in any country, and that if the English Consul should oppose this, that his Highness should insist. And after the death of his Highness I was unable to write this; and now if I were certain that permission is granted, I should wish that you would send me some slaves, young and strong, to labour in our colonies; and if this can be arranged, send the answer in the ship which conveys this letter to you, viz., the ship named ¹ , and inform me whether I shall send my ship to your country to convey slaves or not. I will sell them, or they shall remain with me; and I have a ship named the *Paikur*, a fast sailer, which can always perform the passage quickly between this and your Highness' country, and we shall make a profit, as it will perform voyages with speed; and this profit shall be divided equally between me and your Highness; the profit and the loss we will share equally; this is what I desired for your Highness' father; and the price of the slaves which you send me we will divide equally, after reckoning for the expenses of shipping, passage, &c.; the profit shall be equally divided between us; and let the slaves which you send be young, strong, and let it be a stipulation that for every 90 male slaves, there shall be 10 female slaves, small, of ages from 14 to 16 years. And I am confident that all slaves which your Highness conveys to me in your name, the Governor of Bourbon will permit to land, and will be pleased at it, for the Governor wrote to your Highness' father, and made him acquainted (with his wishes), and I did so also.

And do not pay attention to the words of the English consul in all what he says to you; do all that you see is good for your country and condition; for the English consul is dwelling in your country solely for his own affairs; he has by no means anything to do with your affairs; for the English would wish to manufacture sugar in

¹ Illegible in the Arabic letter.

their colonies, in Europe and in India, and sell it to foreign countries, and would desire that other countries should not manufacture any sugar. And the French Government has given permission to all the Governors of their colonies to purchase slaves and to set them free; for the Government of France desires the happiness of all mankind, so that people should convey slaves to Bourbon to be taught labour, in order that they may become wise and clever.

And you will receive an account for 1,025 Spanish dollars and 83 centimes for the expenses of the ship named *The Sooliman*. I received charge of the ship from Monsicur Bella and Monsicur Desbussé; they have caused a great loss with this ship; and as Mahommed bin Hamees had no money, I paid all the expenses, and have provided the ship with all necessaries requisite until she reaches you; and I wish you to give me a bill of exchange for the above, at the rate of 11 German crowns for 10 Spanish dollars, and send it to me by the captain of this ship; and I wish the same friendship to continue between your Highness and myself as existed between your Highness' father and myself. And I wish to send my ships to your Highness' ports, and that your Highness should load them with sesamum seeds, which I will convey to Marseilles, for I have a house of business in Marseilles, and I wish that we should share the profits; and I tell you this to induce your Highness not to send your ships to other ports or countries as your father used to do. Pray write to me, in order that I may know you entertain for me the same friendly sentiments your father did.

Written from Monsieur Runtoné, dated the 8th of Shahban, 1273 Hijra, corresponding to 4th April 1857, A.D.

(True translation.)

(signed) C. P. Rigby, Captain,
Honourable Company's Agent, Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, 21 September 1858.

(True copies.)

(signed) H. L. Anderson,
Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX V

(a)

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM BARON DARRICAN

To His Highness the very powerful Sultan of Zanzibar.

June 29, 1858.

HIGHNESS,

His Majesty the Emperor of the French is a just prince who could demand nothing contrary to the laws of morality and equity. It is with such sentiments that I address to you these lines.

He asks you to authorize that labourers engaged for La Réunion shall freely leave your dominions.

The land of La Réunion is rich and fruitful, but the heat of the sun forbids white men from working there. That is why we turn to the black man God has made for these climates.

The soil of La Réunion, like all French soil, is a soil of liberty; every labourer who sets foot on it becomes free. If we ask of him his labour, it is on condition that we board him, dress him, lodge him, nurse him if he is sick, and finally pay him. Is it permissible to say that the man one places in such circumstances is a slave? Are not those who speak thus calumniators of the thought of our great Emperor, and are they not liars?

It is only for a very short time, and but for a few years that we ask the labour of men from your dominions. Afterwards they will be authorized to return to your country; they will have learnt the cultivation of sugar, they will have learnt our customs; they will then bring back to you a population able to cultivate your land and increase the source of the riches of your State.

Are not these conditions just? Are they not worthy of the benefactions which a great nation wishes to spread over the whole earth? And this is not all, Highness! His Majesty the Emperor of the French understands that if you deprive yourself for a certain time of a certain number of your subjects, this deprivation demands compensation. It is that you may receive our offers and conditions that I am sending to you the Commander of the brig *Génie*, whom you know. He will tell you that your good will towards France will be rewarded by the friendship and protection of the Emperor. You must have already received these assurances from our Consul.

As for the conditions in detail—I do not deal with them in this

letter, whose purpose is simply to let you know the good and loyal intentions of our Government—they will be transmitted to you by Commander Méquet and our Consul. For the rest I beg your Highness to accept the expression of the sentiments to which his greatness and his power give birth in me.

Your very humble and very obedient servant

The Governor of the Island of La Réunion, Commandant of the Station of Réunion and Madagascar, Commander of the Legion of Honor, Commander of the very sublime Order of the Medjidie, Companion of the English Order of the Bath, etc., etc.

(signed) BARON DARRICAN

(b)

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM THE FRENCH
CONSUL, M. COCHET

ZANZIBAR, *Nov. 23rd, 1859*

Yesterday at about 4 o'clock p.m., a placard emanating from the British Consulate, and signed "C. P. Rigby, Lieutenant-Colonel, Her Majesty's Consul, Zanzibar" was posted on the Custom-house building, by which Indo-Britannic subjects are forbidden to trade with M. Mass, who is described in it as being engaged in the Slave Trade. The said placard remained exposed to the sight of the public of Zanzibar during twenty-one hours, and was only removed after an appeal made to the Sultan by the Consul of France.

This calumnious and injurious assertion against an Agent of the French Consulate, who is moreover the representative of one of the most honourable French houses, together with the publicity which was given to it, oblige the Consul of H.M. the Emperor to protest against the violation by Mr Rigby of the principles of international law, of morality, and, lastly, of the customs of the country.

The Consul of France has the honour of informing Mr Rigby that copies of this present protestation have been sent to H.H. the Sultan of Zanzibar and the United States Consul in this town; one will be also expressed to the Government of the Emperor, who will make whatever use of it they may think fit.

The Consul of France,

(signed) LADISLAUS COCHET

LIEUT.-COLONEL RIGBY TO M. COCHET

ZANZIBAR, *Nov. 24th, 1859*

The Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul and British Agent, Zanzibar, has to acknowledge the receipt of a note dated yesterday, signed "Ladislaus Cochet, Consul de France," relative to a notice issued to British subjects residing at this port, warning them against having any commercial transactions with an individual by name Buona Ventura Mass.

2. The Traffic in Slaves carried on by B. V. Mass, in the Zanzibar dominions, has been for a long time a matter of so much notoriety amongst all classes of the community here, and has, during the period of residence of the Undersigned at this port, been so frequently a topic of conversation, that the tenor of the above note considerably surprised the Undersigned, as it would appear from it that the Consul of France is entirely ignorant of the Traffic in Slaves so long carried on by B. V. Mass.

3. The Undersigned, on receiving positive proofs that B. V. Mass had been engaged in a traffic which is stigmatized by every Christian Government, which is contrary to the law of France; also contrary to the law of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and in violation of the Treaties existing between Her Britannic Majesty and His Highness the Sultan; the provisions of which H.H. endeavours to fulfil in the most loyal and praiseworthy manner,—deemed it his solemn duty to warn all British subjects against having any commercial dealings with the said Buona Ventura Mass.

4. By the law of England, if a British subject residing in a foreign dominion engages in the Traffic of Slaves, he is debarred from the protection of English law; and therefore, if a subject of a foreign Power engages in this infamous traffic contrary to the law of his own country, and of the State in which he is residing, and in violation of Treaties, he cannot be permitted to claim a privilege denied to a British subject.

5. B. V. Mass will therefore not be admitted to the British Consular Court at this port, as a plaintiff, with respect to any claims against British subjects; nor will any complaints of British subjects against the said B. V. Mass in respect to any transactions subsequent to the issue of the notice be taken cognisance of.

6. The Undersigned has represented to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty the disgraceful and illegal transactions in which B. V. Mass has been engaged in the Zanzibar dominions; and a copy

of the note of the Consul of France, and also of this reply to it, will be forwarded to H.M.'s Government by the earliest opportunity.

(signed) C. P. RIGBY

Inclosure.

ZANZIBAR, le 24 *Novembre*, 1759

Le Consul de France à Zanzibar soussigné a l'honneur d'accuser réception à M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby de la note qu'il lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser aujourd'hui même.

Après en avoir pris connaissance le Consul de France prévient M. Rigby qu'il maintient dans toute son étendue la protestation motivée par la pancarte calomnieuse et injurieuse pour M. Mas, Administre de ce Consulat, émanant du Consulat Britannique et exposée à la vue publique sur l'édifice de la Douane de cette ville pendant vingt-et-une heures, et le rend responsable des préjudices que peut occasionner à la maison de MM. Vidal Frères at à celle de M. Régis, aîné, de Marseille, l'interdiction faite par M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby aux sujets Indo-Britanniques de commercer avec leur représentant, à Zanzibar.

Le Consul de France,

(signé) LADISLAUS COCHET

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM THE FRENCH CONSUL

ZANZIBAR, *Nov. 24th*, 1759

The Undersigned, Consul of France at Zanzibar, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which Lieut.-Colonel Rigby did him the honour of addressing to him this day.

After having given his attention to it, the Consul of France announces to Mr Rigby that he maintains in all its bearings the protestation which was given rise to by the calumnious and injurious placard against M. Mas, an Agent in this Consulate, which emanated from the British Consulate, and which was publicly exposed on the Custom-house building of this town during twenty-one hours, and that he considers him responsible for the prejudices which may be occasioned against the house of Messrs. Vidal Bros., and against that of M. Régis, the elder, of Marseilles, by Lieut.-Col. Rigby's forbidding Indo-Britannic subjects from trading with their Representative at Zanzibar.

The French Consul,

(signed) LADISLAUS COCHET

(c)

To M. le Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle, etc.

April 6th, 1860

SIR,

Having this day received information from H.H. the Sultan that in consequence of representations made to you by M. Ladislaus Cochet, late Consul of France at this port, you threaten to take proceedings in violation of the friendship which has happily always existed between H.H.'s family and the French Government, I do myself the honour to address you, trusting that your high sense of honour and justice will induce you to pause before adopting any measures unfriendly to H.H. the Sultan, or injurious to the trade of this Port, and to the interests of the numerous British subjects who are so largely engaged in commerce here.

2. I appeal to you with greater confidence from the very friendly feeling you have always evinced towards H.H. and from the frank and loyal manner in which you on a former occasion received the remonstrances I personally addressed to you, against the unfriendly conduct of M. Ladislaus Cochet towards H.H. the Sultan, and the protection and countenance he was giving to the rebel subjects of His Highness.

3. Since my arrival at Zanzibar, I have observed with great regret the deep feeling of animosity M. Cochet cherishes against H.H. and that he has deemed it consistent with his position here openly to speak of the Prince to whom he was accredited in terms of the foulest abuse and insult.

4. On the occasion of the rebellion of Syed Burghash M. Cochet outraged the feelings of H.H. and of the Arab population on a point on which all Mahommedans are most sensitive, by accompanying several female relatives of H.H. through the public streets to my house. This insult to the family of their Syud and ruler caused deep indignation amongst all classes of Mahommedans.

5. On several occasions when H.H. has visited his ships of war M. Cochet has neglected to hoist his Consular flag in compliment to H.H. as the other Consuls and all ships in the Harbour are in the habit of doing.

6. H.H. has complained that on visiting M. Cochet he has neglected to receive him with the usual courtesy of advancing to the entrance gate of the Consulate, and that the Chancellor, M. Jablousky, has visited him officially dressed in a manner in which no person would pay a visit at the house of a European gentleman.

7. A Spaniard, by name Buona Ventura Mass, has long been

carrying on a most disgraceful and inhuman traffic in slaves in the Zanzibar dominions, a traffic stigmatized by the laws of France and of all civilized nations, degrading to the European character in these countries, in violation of the laws of the Zanzibar State and of the Treaties which exist for the Suppression of the Slave Trade between H.H. the Sultan and Her Britannic Majesty. To my regret and astonishment M. Cochet has continued to afford his Consular protection to this lawless Spaniard, and has even made a notice which I issued to the British subjects resident here, warning them against having any dealings with B. V. Mass, a subject of complaint against His Highness.

8. In conclusion I beg to assure you that during my residence here H.H. the Sultan has never omitted any occasion of showing his friendship and respect for all the sovereigns in alliance with him, by dressing his ships and firing royal salutes on the fête days of their Majesties the Emperor of the French and the Queen of Great Britain; that he has also shown a liberality of sentiment far beyond that of any Mahommedan ruler in any part of the world by celebrating the anniversary of Christian festivals, and even at this moment all his flags are at half-mast in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of the holy author of our religion; that he has also with the utmost liberality encouraged the scientific exploration of the interior of Africa; that he has shown the utmost desire to encourage trade and promote civilization in his dominions; and I therefore feel confident that it would be a subject of deep regret to both our Governments were the unfortunate ill-will of the late Consul of France towards H.H. the Sultan permitted to cause an interruption of friendly relations or lead to any injury to the commerce and dawning civilization of the Zanzibar dominions.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant, etc.

(signed) C. P. RIGBY

ZANZIBAR, *le 6 Avril, 1860*

MONSIEUR,

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire aujourd'hui.

A mon arrivée ici M. le Consul de France m'a mis au courant des difficultés qu'il a éprouvées avec le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Sultan Said Medjid.

J'espérais, vu mes anciennes relations d'amitié avec Son Altesse, pouvoir terminer ces difficultés par une intervention officieuse.

La modération des demandes que je formulais au nom de M. le Consul de France et la justice sur laquelle étaient basées ses réclamations me faisaient espérer une solution immédiate. J'ai été trompé dans mes prévisions, et aujourd'hui la mission de conciliation que j'avais acceptée se trouvant terminée, M. le Consul de France de concert avec moi prendra les mesures nécessaires pour sauvegarder la dignité du Pavillon de sa Majesté l'Empereur et les intérêts de ses nationaux.

Agréez, M. le Lieut.-Colonel, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée, etc.

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM COMMODORE LE
VICOMTE FLEURIOT DE LANGLE

ZANZIBAR, *April 6th, 1860*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date.

On my arrival here the French Consul informed me of the difficulties he had had with the Government of His Highness the Sultan Said Medjid.

I hoped, in view of my former friendly relations with H.H., to be able to end these difficulties by official intervention.

The moderation of the demands which I formulated in the name of the French Consul and the justice on which his complaints were founded made me hope for an immediate solution. I was mistaken in my expectation, and the mission of conciliation which I had agreed to being at an end to-day, the Consul of France in co-operation with me will adopt the measures necessary to safeguard the dignity of the Ensign of H.M. the Emperor and the interests of his nationals.

With the assurance of my most sincere regard, etc.

ZANZIBAR, *April 6, 1860*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and I deeply regret that its unsatisfactory nature renders it imperative on me to protest in the most solemn manner against any injury to the lives or property of British subjects resident in this Town which may occur in consequence of any hostile measures you may deem proper to adopt; and I feel confident that the public opinion of the entire civilized world would denounce with indignation any attack upon an unarmed town, whereby the lives and property of unoffending persons will be sacrificed.

2. I hereby declare, and every foreign resident here can also testify, that the late Consul of France at this Port has pursued a course of insult and slight towards H.H. the Sultan, and that his extraordinary interference in the internal affairs of the Zanzibar State has led to rebellion and bloodshed.

3. I still find it impossible to believe that hostilities so entirely unprovoked, so unjust, so cruel, and so ruinous in their consequences to the future of the Zanzibar dominions can be in reality contemplated, especially after the hospitable attentions of H.H. and his officers during the period the Imperial Corvette *Cordelière* has been aground at the entrance of this Harbour.

4. I therefore sincerely hope that all difficulties may even yet be amicably arranged, and that the private animosity of the late Consul of France may not be permitted to have an effect so injurious to the future of the East Coast of Africa.

I have, etc.

(signed) C. P. RIGBY

M. LE LIEUT.-COLONEL,

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre. . . .

Elle contient une protestation contre l'attaque que vous pensez que j'ai l'intention à faire contre le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Sultan Said Medjid, et m'accuse d'ingratitude à l'égard de ce Prince.

Ma dignité me défend d'accepter d'allusion pareille; personne n'a été plus touché que moi de l'empressement mis par Son Altesse à porter secours à la *Cordelière*, et Son Altesse par les remerciements que je lui ai fait faire verbalement a dû savoir ma vive reconnaissance pour les bons procédés à mon égard. Comme Elle a dû les voir par les efforts que j'ai fait pour amener une conciliation, toujours possible, et que je suis prêt à accepter, avec un vif plaisir, et que j'appelle de tous mes vœux pourvu qu'elle soit du nature à donner satisfaction légitime à nos intérêts et à l'honneur de notre Souverain.

M. Cochet avait écarté de la réclamation qu'il m'avait remise tout ce qui pouvait être blessant pour Son Altesse, et j'étais prêt ainsi que je lui ai fait savoir, à aller lui présenter mon hommage, et lui porter l'expression de ma gratitude. Ainsi que je le suis encore dès qu'elle aura fait connaître ses regrets. Il est évident pour moi que Son Altesse a mal compris la réclamation de M. Cochet ou qu'elle a été mal traduite, car c'est sur cette proposition qu'il y a cette divergence et elle est entier (*sic*) favorable à maintenir l'honneur du Sultan, comme elle est d'accord avec le droit des gens elle écartera toute réclamation pour l'avenir.

Je ne perds donc pas l'espoir de voir les amis de Son Altesse Seyd Medjid lui conseiller une politique de conciliation, et de pouvoir aussi renouer avec Son Altesse le Sultan Syed Medjid des relations aussi amicales que celles que j'ai eu le vif plaisir et l'honneur d'entretenir avec elle dans mes voyages précédents, et qu'elle a bien voulu entretenir avec tous les officiers de Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Je prie M. le Lieut.-Colonel Rigby de croire aux sentiments de ma considération la plus élevée, et de me croire son très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

VICOMTE A. DE LANGLE

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM VICOMTE DE LANGLE

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter. . . .

It contains a protest against the attack which you think I intend to make against the Government of H.M. the Sultan S. Medjid, and accuses me of ingratitude towards that Prince.

My dignity prevents me from accepting such an insinuation; no one was more touched than myself by the haste exhibited by H.H. in sending help to the *Cordelière*, and H.H. by the thanks which I caused to be conveyed to him verbally must have known my sincere gratitude for his kind efforts on my behalf. As he must have realized by the efforts I made to bring about a reconciliation, still possible, and which I am ready to accept with great pleasure, and which I invoke with all my prayers, provided it be of a nature to give legitimate satisfaction to our interests and to the honour of our Sovereign.

M. Cochet had withdrawn from the complaint, which he showed to me, all that could wound His Highness, and I was ready, as I made known to him, to go and present my respects, and express my gratitude. As I still am, as soon as he shall have expressed his regrets. It is evident to me that H.H. ill understood the complaint of M. Cochet, or that it was badly translated, for it is with regard to this that there is this difference, and it is entirely favourable to the maintenance of the Sultan's honour, as it is in accord with the law of nations and will prevent any complaint in the future.

So I do not lose hope of seeing the friends of His Highness Seyd Medjid advising him to follow a policy of conciliation, and of being able to renew with His Highness the Sultan Syed Medjid relations as friendly as those I had the lively pleasure and honour of maintaining with him on my previous voyages, which he wished to maintain with all the officers of His Majesty the Emperor.

I beg Lieut.-Colonel Rigby to believe in the highest sentiments of my consideration and to believe me his very humble and very obedient servant,

VISCOUNT A. DE LANGLE

Enclosure.

À son Altesse Saïd Majid, Sultan de Zanzibar.

TRÈS ILLUSTRE ET TRÈS MAGNIFIQUE SEIGNEUR,

La négociation toute de bienveillance pour Votre Altesse de M. le Vicomte de Langle n'ayant pas obtenu le résultat que nous souhaitions, j'ai l'honneur de La prévenir que le Pavillon du Consulat de France sera amené vingt-quatre heures après la présente notification à moins qu'elle ne consente à donner au Gouvernement de l'Empereur des Français les satisfactions suivantes, contenues dans la note qui a servi de base à la négociation officieuse de M. de Langle, savoir

1. La mise en prison du nommé Abdallah bin Allee.
2. L'expression par écrit des regrets de l'affiche concernant M Mas et apposée sur l'édifice de la Douane l'assurance de n'autoriser aucune affiche ou placard ayant trait à des Administrateurs du Consulat de sa Majesté l'Empereur ou à leurs intérêts.
3. L'expression de ses regrets de n'avoir pas fait de visite au Consul de sa Majesté le jour de Noël, alors qu'elle l'avait fait aux autres Consuls.

Plus

1. Un salut de 21 coups de canon en l'honneur du Pavillon de sa Majesté.

2. Une visite officielle au Consul de sa Majesté.

Le délai expiré sans que Votre Altesse m'ait donné les satisfactions sus spécifiées me fera un devoir de remettre à M. le Commandant des forces navales de sa Majesté l'Empereur dans ces mers le soin de sauvegarder l'honneur du Pavillon Français.

Je suis avec un profond respect
de Votre Altesse, etc.,

(signed) LADISLAS COCHET

ZANZIBAR, le 6 Avril, 1860

À quatre heures du soir

TRANSLATION OF ABOVE LETTER

To His Highness Saïd Majid, Sultan of Zanzibar.

VERY ILLUSTRIOUS AND VERY MAGNIFICENT SEIGNEUR,

The negotiations, entirely inspired by good-will for your Highness, of M. le Vicomte de Langle not having obtained the

result which we hoped, I have the honor to inform you that the Flag of the French Consulate will be lowered 24 hours after the present notification unless your Highness consents to give satisfaction to the Government of the Emperor of the French in the following terms, contained in the note on which were based the official negotiations of M. de Langle, viz.

1. The imprisonment of Abdallah bin Allee.
2. The expression in writing of regret for the poster concerning M. Mas exhibited on the Custom-house, with the undertaking not to authorize any poster or placard referring to the Agents of the Consulate of His Majesty the Emperor or to their interests.
3. The expression of H.H.'s regret for not having visited the Consul of His Majesty the Emperor on Christmas Day, when visiting the other Consuls.

Further

1. A salute of 21 guns in honour of His Majesty's Flag.
2. An official visit to His Majesty's Consul.

If the time expires without your Highness having given me the satisfaction specified above, it will be my duty to commit to the Commandant of the Naval Forces of His Majesty the Emperor in these seas the care of safeguarding the honour of the French Flag.

With profound respect for Your Highness, etc.,

LADISLAS COCHET

ZANZIBAR, *April 6, 1860*

4 p.m.

Enclosure.

To M. le Vicomte Fleuriot de Langle.

April 7, 1860

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date and beg to assure you that I was deeply gratified by the good will and friendly feeling it expressed towards H.H. the Sultan, knowing as I do the amiable benevolent disposition of this young Prince, and his feelings of friendship and esteem for the French nation.

2. This morning H.H. notified to me the letter of M. Cochet late French Consul at this Port dated 4 o'clock p.m. yesterday containing demands under a threat of hostilities which I could not but consider humiliating to any independent Prince to submit to, and such as could never be made except from a powerful State towards one that was not possessed of adequate means of resistance.

3. I nevertheless tendered my advice to H.H. to comply with all the demands required of him, instancing the recent case of the ship *Charles et Georges*, which created such a painful impression throughout Europe, when His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Portugal, and the Parliament of his Kingdom submitted to demands extorted by superior armed force rather than expose his subjects to the horrors of an unequal warfare.

4. But I consider that I should be wanting in my duty as the representative at this Port of a nation happily in strict alliance with the Emperor of the French, if I failed solemnly to record the expression of my deep sense of the injustice and humiliation inflicted on a Prince who has committed no act of disrespect or discourtesy towards the French Government, and who has long quietly submitted to the insults and slights cast on him by the late Consul of France at this Port, and I feel assured that these occurrences will cause a most painful impression wherever they are known, and also create a feeling of exasperation amongst the Arabs of these countries which it will take years to eradicate.

5. Feeling for you personally M. le Vicomte sentiments of the most sincere respect and friendship, and remembering the many agreeable hours I passed in your society during this month of the last year, it has been very painful to me that I have been precluded from paying my respects to you in person in consequence of these unfortunate misunderstandings.

I have, etc.

(signed) C. P. RIGBY

Enclosure.

CORVETTE LA CORDELIÈRE

RADE DE ZANZIBAR, le 8 Avril

M. LE LIEUT.-COLONEL,

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 7 Avril 1860. Je vous remercie des conseils que vous avez donnés à son Altesse le Sultan Syed Medjid en l'engageant à se soumettre à la nécessité où il s'était placé de faire à la France une réparation qui a été plus complète que celle que je voulais demander à son Altesse, et qu'il a rejeté lorsque j'ai voulu traiter cette affaire à l'aimable, ainsi donc son Altesse ne peut s'en prendre qu'à elle-même de l'attitude où elle s'était placée vis-à-vis du Gouvernement de sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Je vous remercie également M. le Lieut.-Colonel de tout ce que votre lettre du 7 contient de gracieux pour moi; je regrette de mon côté, vous n'en pouvez douter, que nos attitudes respectives n'aient

pas permis des relations dont je garde un très-bon souvenir et que j'aurais continué avec plaisir.

Maintenant vous me permettez, M. le Lieut.-Colonel, de vous faire observer que dans la correspondance que vous avez échangé avec moi, il y a des choses que je ne puis accepter de personne; tel que l'application de la conduite de M. le Consul de France vis-à-vis du Gouvernement de son Altesse le Sultan Syed Medjid.

Tel encore que votre appréciation de ma conduite personnelle vis-à-vis de son Altesse et surtout l'appréciation que vous faites à votre point de vue de l'obligation où ont été les représentants du Gouvernement de sa Majesté l'Empereur, d'employer des formes comminatoires pour obtenir un redressement qu'ils n'ont pu obtenir par les moyens ordinaires de conciliation. Je n'admets pas davantage M. le Lieut.-Colonel que vous avez le droit comme Agent du Gouvernement de sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne votre très illustre Souveraine et l'alliée très intime de sa Majesté l'Empereur des Français de stigmatiser la conduite du Gouvernement Impérial dans les négociations qui ont été conduites à Lisbonne à propos du *Charles et Georges*. Dans une affaire analogue où le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne faisait faire des représentations au Gouvernement de sa Majesté le Roi Othon sa Seigneurie Lord Palmerston a prononcé son fameux "*Civis romanus sum*" à propos des sujets de la Grande Bretagne; cette fière devise sied bien à votre puissante nation, et personne ne la trouvera déplacée dans la bouche du premier Ministre de la Grande Bretagne. Ne soyez donc pas étonné M. le Lieut.-Colonel que les Agents de sa Majesté l'Empereur tiennent également à sauvegarder l'honneur et les intérêts de leur nation partout où il leur a été porté atteinte, et qu'ils soient seuls juges en matière si délicate de l'offense qu'ils ont reçue.

Il y a trente ans, M. le Lieut.-Colonel, que je suis employé à la répression du commerce des esclaves, et c'est l'expérience que j'ai de ces matières qui m'avait fait choisir en 1849 comme l'un des commissaires qui furent appelés à Londres pour la revision des traités qui existaient au sujet de cet odieux trafic entre la Grande Bretagne et la France; vous ne pouvez donc douter de toute l'horreur que j'ai pour ce commerce.

Mais un Français se rendit-il coupable de se livrer à ce trafic à terre, et rien ne me prouve que M. Mas représentant de deux Maisons Françaises s'y soit livré, que je vous répondrai que notre loi n'atteint que l'embarquement et le transport des noirs à bord des bâtiments qui portent notre pavillon, et je pense que la loi anglaise est aussi inhabile que la loi française pour faire ces poursuites.

D'ailleurs j'ai l'ordre de me tenir pour la répression des traités

dans les limites du strict droit des gens, et de plus, de veiller que les croiseurs ou les Agents de sa Majesté Britannique ou autres étrangers accomplissent les répressions qu'ils exercent pour arriver à l'extinction de ce honteux commerce sans attentat illégal contre les personnes et les biens des sujets français.

C'est donc pour accomplir ce rigoureux devoir, que j'ai été dans l'obligation de demander à Son Altesse le Sultan Syed Medjid de vouloir bien faire connaître aux Consuls résidents auprès de lui, que dans leurs affiches ils voulussent bien se borner à donner de la publicité aux actes qui concernent leurs administrés sans gêner les transactions des sujets étrangers qui seraient obligés de poursuivre près de leur Gouvernement de pareils actes, comme limitant la liberté du commerce qui a été garantie aux sujets français, notamment par l'article deux du Traité qu'a le Gouvernement de ce pays avec le Souverain de Zanzibar.

Je vous prie, etc., etc.,

VICOMTE DE LANGLE

TRANSLATION OF ABOVE LETTER

CORVETTE "CORDELIÈRE"

ZANZIBAR ROADSTEAD, *April 8th*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of April 7th, 1860.

I thank you for the advice which you have given to His Highness the Sultan Syed Medjid in telling him to submit to the necessity in which he had placed himself of making to France reparation which has been fuller than I had wished to ask of His Highness, but which he rejected when I wanted to treat the affair on friendly lines. So His Highness has only himself to blame for the situation in which he placed himself in relation to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor.

I thank you also, Colonel, for all the kind things contained in your letter of the 7th in respect of myself; I on my side regret, you can have no doubt of it, that our respective positions have not allowed relations of which I retain a very agreeable recollection, and which I should have continued with pleasure.

Now, Colonel, you will permit me to observe that in the correspondence which you have exchanged with me there are things which I cannot accept from anyone; such as the criticism of the conduct of the French Consul towards the Government of his Highness the Sultan.

Such again as your estimation of my personal conduct towards His Highness, and above all the judgment which you pass from your point of view on the obligation of the representatives of the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of employing threatening expressions to obtain redress which they could not obtain by the ordinary friendly means. Nor can I admit, Colonel, that you have the right as Agent of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, your very illustrious Sovereign and the very intimate ally of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, to stigmatize the conduct of the Imperial Government in the negotiations which were conducted at Lisbon in reference to the *Charles et Georges*. In connection with an analogous affair in which the Government of Great Britain caused representations to be made to the Government of King Otto, his Lordship Lord Palmerston uttered his famous "Civis romanus sum" in reference to the subjects of Great Britain. This proud device suits your powerful nation well, and no one will consider it misplaced on the lips of the first Minister of Great Britain. Do not then be astonished, Colonel, if the Agents of His Majesty the Emperor are equally determined to safeguard the honour and the interests of their nation wherever they are attacked, and if they are the sole judges in a matter so delicate as the insult which they have received.

For thirty years, Colonel, I have been employed in the suppression of the slave trade, and it was my experience in this field which caused me to be selected in 1849 as one of the commissioners called to London for the revision of the existing treaties with regard to this odious traffic between Great Britain and France, you cannot therefore doubt the horror in which I hold this trade.

But if a Frenchman were guilty of taking to this traffic by land, and nothing proves to me that M. Mas, the representative of two French houses, has taken to it, I should reply to you that our law only affects the embarkation and transport of blacks on board vessels carrying our flag, and I think the English law is as impotent as the French in this regard.

Besides, I have orders to keep within the limits of the strict law of nations, and further to watch that the cruisers or Agents of Her Britannic Majesty or other foreigners carry out their measures for the extinction of the shameful trade without illegal interference with the persons or goods of French subjects.

It is then in the accomplishment of this stern duty that I have been obliged to request H.H. the Sultan to make known to the Consuls resident in his capital that in their proclamations they must limit themselves to giving publicity to acts which concern their

agents without embarrassing the transactions of foreign subjects, who would be forced to take up with their Government the question of such acts as limiting the freedom of trade guaranteed to French subjects, notably by the second article of the Treaty between the Government of France and the Sovereign of Zanzibar.

I beg you, etc.,

(*signed*) VICOMTE DE LANGLE

APPENDIX VI

MEMORANDUM ON THE REPORT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON THE EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1870

THE first part of the Report correctly describes the manner in which the Slave Trade is carried on and the cruelties and horrors connected with it.

2. Kilwa is correctly described to be the chief port of shipment of slaves from the mainland, but a great many are also exported from other parts of the coast; the number annually taken from the Marima or coast opposite to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba is about 4,000.

3. In the new Treaty which Mr Churchill was directed to negotiate with the late Sultan Sayyid Majid, it was proposed that the shipment of slaves from the mainland should be limited to one point only on the African coast, viz. Dar Selam. As I understand that since the death of Sayyid Majid his successor Sayyid Burghash has entirely deserted Dar Selam, the idea of making it a port of shipment for slaves if the traffic is permitted to continue must be abandoned. Dar Selam was a settlement formed by the late Sultan, and he had formed the idea of making it his capital and of retiring to it if forced to quit Zanzibar. It is now going to ruin. I do not think it possible to carry*into effect the proposal to confine the shipment of slaves, so long as the traffic is permitted to exist, to any single port on the coast; the attempt to do so would greatly increase the sufferings and misery of the slaves. The caravans from the Interior regulate their movements by the seasons, one route being safe whilst probably others are closed owing to feuds between the native chiefs, or on one route there may have been a deficient harvest and they are compelled to travel by another in order to procure a supply of food. Another great difficulty in limiting the shipment from the mainland to certain months according to the Christian calendar is that the Arabs reckon by lunar months, making thirteen months in the year, so that their months always fluctuate, and it would be quite impossible for any Arab starting from the Interior at from three to six months journey from the Coast to calculate his arrival at the port of shipment within the open months according to the Christian Calendar, and if a slave caravan arrived at the port, and the owner found that he would have to keep his

slaves there until the time when shipment is permitted, he would certainly either allow them to starve or run the risk of sending them north of Lamoo through the wild jungles and swamps which line the Coast. I know of an instance in which a slave dealer actually starved to death upwards of a thousand slaves in a barracoon at Killemane on the Zambesi because the French vessel in which they were to have been taken to La Réunion did not arrive as soon as expected.

4. With reference to Par. 7 of the proposed Treaty relative to Kutchees and natives of other Indian States under British protection being forbidden to possess slaves, I may remark that if in Kutch or Kattiawar or any other Native State in Western India any native is found importing or trafficking in African slaves, the British Political Agents have authority to try such native in their Courts for an offence against the paramount power, and I therefore think that it was a lamentable error of judgment of a former Political Agent at Zanzibar that any native of any Protected State in India should have been permitted to possess slaves at Zanzibar, or to traffic in them, or take them in pledge from Arabs.

5. I have been informed by Dr Kirk that the natives of India residing at Zanzibar, not only the subjects of Native States such as Kutch and Kattiawar, but also our own native British subjects, are taking advantage of the recent Act of Parliament on naturalization to renounce their allegiance to the British Government and declare themselves subjects of the Sultan solely to enable them to hold and traffic in slaves.

6. If this be permitted, a very great increase in the Slave Trade at Zanzibar is certain to follow, for these natives of India form a very wealthy class and possess a great proportion of the landed property of the island. Any plantations belonging to Arabs are mortgaged to them, and these they would be enabled to cultivate with slave labour. During the time I was at Zanzibar, whenever a native of India, either a British subject, or a subject of a Protected State, took in mortgage any landed estate from an Arab, I made him emancipate the slaves on the estate and cultivate it by free labour.

7. With regard to Hindoos renouncing their allegiance, their own religious law forbids their becoming the subjects of any State beyond the limits of Hindustan. No Hindoo therefore can become the subject of the Sultan of Zanzibar unless he previously renounces the Hindoo Faith and, so strictly do the Hindoos obey their own laws, that everyone residing beyond the limits of India is compelled to return periodically to his native country and make offerings to his temples.

8. I think that the circumstances of the natives of India declaring themselves Arab subjects on purpose to be enabled to traffic in slaves forms a very strong additional reason for insisting on the entire abolition of the slave trade on the East Coast.

9. I think that it is very desirable that an Assistant Political and Vice Consul should be appointed to assist the Consul at Zanzibar and to act for him during his absence, and that it should be the duty of this officer to visit the various ports on the coast in Her Majesty's Ships employed in the suppression of the slave trade. That he should be furnished with all records relating to previous operations for the suppression of the traffic, and generally advise the Commanders of the cruisers on their first arrival on the Station.

10. It is in this manner that the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf and his Assistants keep up a supervision over all the maritime chiefs in the Gulf, and it has entirely suppressed the piratical habits of these wild tribes.

11. Whilst I am of opinion that very great advantage would be derived from a Consular Officer moving about, making his appearance in a ship of war at ports where slaves are shipped, giving the benefit of his experience to the Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships, etc., I think that the proposal to establish Consular Agents at places on the coast of the mainland could not possibly succeed. It would be a frightful life of solitude for any person in such a climate, without any medical attendance or other aid in case of sickness, and the natives would be able to make his life unbearable by refusing supplies of food if they wished to get rid of him.

12. I entirely agree with that paragraph of the Report which states that the failure of the measures hitherto adopted for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast is owing to the want of recorded information and the frequent change of Commanders as well as to the insufficiency and untrustworthiness of the interpreters employed, and I think that more inducements should be offered to a respectable class of Arabs to undertake the situation of Interpreter.

13. I think that British commerce and British Political interests suffer very much from the want of any regular Postal communication with Zanzibar. Commerce at Zanzibar and the East Coast generally is so rapidly increasing, the adjacent countries are so fertile and produce so many staple articles of commerce, the trade is so capable of unlimited extension, that I feel confident that the expense of establishing a Postal communication would in a few years be repaid an hundredfold. This has been proved to be the case in the comparatively sterile, unproductive countries of the Persian

Gulf. The trade of Madagascar, which is all drawn to Zanzibar by German, American and French merchants, is rapidly increasing, and it is impossible to foresee what its value may amount to in a few years.

14. I entirely agree with the report of the Committee that any permission to supply slaves for domestic use in Zanzibar will always be a pretext and a cloak for a foreign trade, and I am firmly of opinion that the export of slaves from any part of the mainland of Africa to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, or from these Islands to any other portion of the Zanzibar dominions, should at a very early period be entirely prohibited, and I do not apprehend any difficulty in doing this. I think that if the Arabs are told that it is the Will of the Almighty that this horrible traffic in human beings shall cease, they are quite prepared to submit. They have long expected that the British Government will sooner or later put an end to this traffic. They are aware that the Slave trade is abolished in every other country. I do not think that the abolition of this slave trade would affect the prosperity of Zanzibar. The slaves on the Island would be taken more care of, free labour would gradually flock to it, agricultural implements, the use of horses and bullocks on the plantations would be introduced. At present every operation of agriculture is performed by the manual labour of slaves because slaves are so cheap and so easily replaced.

15. The amount of revenue derived from the tax on slaves is a mere trifle compared with the total amount of the Sultan's resources, and as at least four-fifths of the tax is derived from the illicit traffic the amount of compensation, were it proposed to grant any, would be very small.

16. The present Sultan is very avaricious and very penurious so that I cannot say how he might entertain any proposal to be paid compensation. When I had charge of the Mission from the late Sultan to Her Majesty's Government about two years ago, the Secretary repeatedly told me that on no consideration would the Sultan accept any money compensation in any form whatever from the British Government for the abolition of the slave trade, that were he to do so it would be fatal to his position, that all true believers would look upon him as an outcast from the faith of his fathers, the pensioner of the Nazarenes, etc., that rather than humble himself to accept money from the British he would abdicate, retire to Mecca, but the Secretary added that the Sultan did not expect that the traffic in slaves would be much longer permitted, and that His Highness was quite willing to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government for its gradual extinction.

16. Should Her Majesty's Government decide upon the entire abolition of the slave trade at present permitted on the East Coast of Africa, I think it would be very important to secure the co-operation of the Governments which are represented by Consuls at Zanzibar, viz. Germany, France and the United States. Were the Arabs to see that these Governments desire equally with Great Britain the abolition of this traffic, they would the more readily submit, and no ill-feeling towards England in particular would arise.

17. With respect to the Arabs of the Persian Gulf, by whom this illicit traffic in slaves is so largely carried on, we have Treaties with every maritime chief in the Gulf and on the coast of Arabia by which the Slave Trade is declared piracy, and British ships of war are authorized to treat as pirates any vessels belonging to their respective subjects found conveying African slaves. The provisions of these Treaties have never been enforced, the most that has been done when such vessels have been captured with slaves has been to destroy the vessels, take away the slaves and release the commander and crews. I would recommend that in future the commanders and crews of all Arab vessels found with slaves on board should be strictly treated as pirates and tried for piracy in the Court of the Political Residents at Aden and Bushire, and that notice of every conviction and punishment should be given at the port from which the piratical vessel took its departure in the Gulf. Previous to carrying the above measure into effect I think the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf should visit all the ports and give due notice to the Chiefs and Elders of the intention to enforce the proper observance of the existing Treaties. I think that this would soon put an end to the maritime chiefs of the Persian Gulf engaging in this traffic as they have done hitherto.

No act of the United States Government was so effectual in preventing its subjects carrying on the slave trade on the West Coast as the hanging of Captain Gordon, the commander of a slaver.

(signed) C. P. RIGBY, Major General,
late H.M.'s Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar.

APPENDIX VII

AFRICAN EXPLORATION

(From the *Cape Monitor*)

HIS EXCELLENCY Sir George Grey has allowed the following highly interesting communication from the Consul at Zanzibar, in reference to Captain Speke and his exploring party in the eastern coast of Africa, to be published:—

BRITISH CONSULATE, ZANZIBAR

Aug. 23, 1860

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE GREY,—Captain Speke arrived here in the *Brisk* on the 17th inst., and from him I have received the letter and books you so kindly sent me, and for which I feel very much obliged to you. Knowing the deep interest you take in everything connected with Africa and its races, I have often wished to communicate to you subjects connected with these parts of it, and I will do so on every future opportunity, and also forward to you as often as I can information regarding the progress of Captain Speke's expedition. I think he has every chance of success in his favour. British influence has been very much increased here by the events of the last two years, especially by the active aid given to the Sultan by British ships of war during the rebellion of his brother and the El-Harth tribe of Arabs. I have also lately emancipated 4,500 slaves who were held by British Indian subjects. I have had all these slaves brought to the Consulate, and given to each a certificate of emancipation, with new dresses and presents of money and sweetmeats; and all the tribes on the coast are now aware that the English are their best friends. The negroes of this part of Africa are a most good-natured, docile, merry race, and soon become very much attached to Europeans. I have not yet had time to study the *Zooloo Caffre Dictionary* you so kindly sent me, but in glancing over it I was surprised to find how many words are exactly the same as those of the Kiswahili language spoken throughout the Zanzibar dominions, and in lately reading Magyar's travels I observed the same of the language spoken by the tribes of the West Coast, near Benguela, proving beyond a doubt that the people of the whole continent as far north as the Equator are of one original race. An Arab merchant, who has travelled across Africa from opposite Zanzibar to Loanda, lately returned here, and he told

me that the languages all across were so similar to that spoken here that his people had no difficulty in making themselves understood. Captain Speke had dozens of volunteers to accompany him directly his arrival was known, and many of his former companions are anxious to proceed with him. . . .

. . . The climate of Zanzibar has acquired a very bad reputation from the great amount of sickness which prevailed among ships of war some years ago, after coming here, but I believe it was chiefly owing to their taking supplies of water from impure sources near the town. Now aqueducts have been constructed at some distance from the town, and they afford a never-failing supply of pure water. The crews of the merchant ships work here all day in the sun, and never appear to suffer. The Sultan has also given an order to a Hamburg firm to keep up a supply of coal here for the use of any ships-of-war requiring it. I think that the Zanzibar State . . . may have a very important effect upon the future of East Africa. There are now from 5,000 to 6,000 industrious British subjects residing in it, and commerce is rapidly extending. I fear that I am troubling you with a very long letter on the subject of Zanzibar, which will severely tax your time and patience to peruse.

Believe me, my dear Sir George Grey,

Yours very truly,

C. P. RIGBY

APPENDIX VIII

LETTERS FROM JAM OF NOWANUGGER

JAMNUGGUR PALACE

Novr. 30th, 1868

MY DEAR RIGBY,

It is indeed a pleasure to read your kind letters: the one dated 23rd August last particularly delighted me. I am glad to learn from it that my trifling present proved so very acceptable to Mrs Rigby.

Many thanks for your kind wishes for the prosperity of my dominions.

Indeed I also think very often and with a great pleasure of the happy hours I spent in your company at Ballacherry and Nuggur. Is it at all possible for us to be able to see each other again?

I feel obliged by your assurance that you would render any service you can to any of my subjects who may have occasion to visit London.

Pray return my salaams to George.

I cannot conclude this without begging of you to convey my kindest regards to Mrs Rigby. Accept the same yourself, and allow me to remain,

my dear Gl. Rigby,

Your very sincere friend,

(signed in English only) JAM VIBHAJU

JAM NUGGUR PALACE

22nd September, 1869

MY DEAR GENL. RIGBY,

I beg to apologize for my silence for so many months. I am happy to hear from yours of the 12th ultimo that you are all quite well. I am glad that you have been appointed Honorary Secretary to the learned Royal Asiatic Society, and I am sure your extensive knowledge of India and Indians will enable you to promote their object largely. It will afford me great pleasure if I can be of any use to that Society.

You will be glad to hear that I have thought of supplying the town of Jam Nuggur with wholesome water by means of pipes.

With the view of facilitating commerce it is under contemplation

to have a Railway between Berry Bunder and this town. I hope that these works will soon be completed.

My kind regards to self and Mrs Rigby and kisses to your son. Salaams to George.

Believe me

my dear Genl. Rigby,

Your very sincere friend,

(*signed in English only*) JAM VIBHAJU

NAWANAGGER

3rd August, 1870

MY DEAR COLONEL RIGBY,

I am sorry I could not reply to your most friendly favour of the 14th January last, and hope therefore to be excused for it.

Indeed the assemblage at Bombay on the occasion of the visit of His R.H. the Prince of Wales was very grand and splendid. Besides the Chiefs and Princes and their followers, there was a large gathering of Her Majesty's subjects and the population of Bombay was for the time increased by nearly 300,000 people. The occasion had afforded another benefit that the Princes and Chiefs of different places who could not have otherwise seen each other had an opportunity of making personal acquaintances and friendships and thereby opening a permanent communication with each other.

Yes, Railways and telegraphs are a great boon to India. It was on account of these facilities that I was induced to undertake a travel through Upper India and visit Benares, Calcutta, Agra and other places of interest and religious celebrity.

My son Kaloobhà has seen greater part of the Upper India. He and the young Thakore of Rajkot travelled in company and Captain Nutt was specially deputed to accompany them. The tour has no doubt done them great good.

My Kamdar Kào Bahadoor Popat Velljee is getting on well, and has been ever since his appointment struggling hard to introduce new reforms, especially in the system of collecting land revenues, but unfortunately he has to work under very difficult circumstances, for last year there was as if it were a regular drought of water, the effects of which are still felt by the people. Several of my villages in the Bârâdi districts were actually deserted. This year I am glad to communicate to you that nearly 10 inches of rain has fallen, the weather is still showery and cloudy. Last year nearly 300 village

wells were sunk at places where they were most needed, and a large quantity of grain was distributed among my subjects.

You must of course have read in the papers the Secretary of State's decision in the matter of the 116 villages transferred to the Bhàwanaggar jurisdiction.

The great Shràwak's case regarding the Pállitáná Hills and the Bhàyàd's case with the Thakore of that place are now the topics of the day.

The young Thakore of Limru is at present in London and you have probably seen him.

I wish I was as young to undertake a journey to England and the continent to see the country as well as my old friends.

Thank you for your kind wishes for my son Kaloobhà. He in return asks me to return his best compliments with thanks for your kind remembrance of him and good wishes.

Remember me kindly to Mrs Rigby. Trusting this will find self and family in the enjoyment of perfect health and hoping to hear from you in return,

I am,

Yours most sincerely,

(signed) JAM VIBHAJU

NOWANUGGUR PALACE

20th February, 1874

MY DEAR GENERAL RIGBY,

Your kind letter of the 6th Ultimo is duly to hand, and I am glad to perceive from it that you have seized an excellent opportunity of your New Year to shower blessings upon me, for which, in offering you my best thanks, I wish you and your family many a happy return of the same; and may you realize all your good hopes and expectations in life.

You have given me so many proofs of your friendship that I fully believe you to say that you "always take great interest in everything relating to Nowanuggur." The memory of our having happily enjoyed each other's company is ever as fresh to me as it is to your goodself.

According to the latest telegram my son Prince Kaloobhà¹ is now at Cawnpore, and I am glad to say that he is quite well and happy. This journey, which the Prince performs in company of the Assistant Political Agent, Captain H. L. Nutt, and my old

¹ In 1877 this prince tried to poison the Jam and was excluded from the succession. See Kincaid, *The Land of "Ranjit" and "Duleep,"* 1931.

Dewan Bhugwan ju Kurumsey, is of course calculated to amuse, instruct, and improve him. I earnestly hope that during his sojourn he will learn enough to know his own dignity and the duties attached to it. I must here add that the young Thakore of Rajkote, who is a minor, and whose State is consequently under the guardianship of the British Government, also travels with my son under the charge of the same Political Officer.

To his friends and to those who appreciate him, Colonel Anderson is quite welcome to Kattyawar. You deserve every credit for reading our heart from such a distance. I have taken great delight in quoting to him the favorable passage from your letter which relates to him. According to the current reports his stay in this Province would, I apprehend, be very short.

I think you will have to make all the necessary preparations and arrangements for the Sultan of Zanzibar when he comes to England, and I wish you every success in your endeavours to make his visit pleasant and agreeable.

I am glad to learn that on the day you wrote me the letter under reply your eldest son, who is only five years old, "has commenced his education with a master." That he might make a good progress and inherit all the virtues of his father is the sincere wish of your friend.

I have great pleasure in sending you by this mail a parcel containing my own photograph in full size, and carte de visite of my son Prince Kaloobhà, and that of his son Prince Lakhaju, which please accept.

I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my joy at the election of the Ex-Governor Sir Seymour Fitzgerald as a member for Horsham in the new Parliament. The Conservative party, to which he has the honour to belong, now predominates. It is hoped that they will avail themselves of his valuable services to their great advantage, and that under their auspices he might be elevated to some high post in their command. . . . I shall be very happy to hear of his success and prosperity. I request you to see him and congratulate him on my behalf. Please tell him that I always regard him as my friend and well-wisher and that I am very sorry for his long silence since he left India.

Thanking you for your kind wishes, and hoping that you with your family are hale and hearty,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) JAM SHREE VIBHAJU

JAMNUGGER PALACE

Sept. 3rd, 1878

MY DEAR GL. RIGBY,

Of all my Europn. friends in England you alone have kept up correspondence with me—for which pray accept my hearty thanks—although oftentimes I fail, I am sorry, to answer your letters with the promptitude they deserve. From this however I cannot suppose that those who spend the best part of their life in this country cease taking interest in the welfare of the people of this vast peninsula as soon as they bid adieu to its shores, for without their influence in their native land it is impossible to conceive how Indian questions could attract the attention they now a days do in the British Parliament.

The Indian Press Act was, I was glad to find, actively discussed in that august assembly, and the veteran leader of the Liberal party, Mr Gladstone, took such a prominent part in it and eventually succeeded so far as to have it considerably modified in its rigour.

I am also rejoiced at the termination of the threatened Continental conflagration as a sequel of the Turko-Russian War, in which it would have been impossible for England, insulated as she is, to avoid taking part, and in that case India would have certainly come in for her share. In fact Lord Beaconsfield's glorious success at the Berlin Congress is a matter of universal satisfaction.

Thanks for your kind wishes regarding the heir and successor I was under peculiarly painful circumstances obliged to select.¹ He is as yet a mere child and I am in hopes he would by proper training be a fit successor to the Gadee (?) of my illustrious ancestors.

The Raj-Kumar (?) College, as you are aware, has been producing very good results, and I am sure in course of time that most useful of all institutions wd. be the means of educating the Chiefs of the Province up to the standard of European institutions of similar kind.

Last year was a year of scarcity in Kattywar, and to keep the Royts and their cattle alive relief works on a large scale were undertaken, and up to ten thousand people a day were employed on them for nearly six months. One of them is a large reservoir for the storage of water by means of which some fifteen hundred acres of land can be easily irrigated, besides supplying the town of Jamnuggur with wholesome water.

¹ The first boy adopted was poisoned by Kaloobhà's mother. The Jam gave his second choice, Ranjitsingji, into the care of Colonel Barton, the Political Agent. See *The Land of "Ranji" and "Duleep."*

This year by the timely fall of rain which has continued up to this time, the state of things is much improved, and I hope the prospects before us are much brighter.

Col. Barton has been acting Pol. Agt. here and it is hoped he will soon be confirmed. He is a very kind-hearted and conciliatory officer and I am sure will win the affection of the people.

With kind wishes to self and family, who are I hope in the enjoyment of excellent health,

I am,

Believe me,

Ever your sincere friend,

(*signed*) JAM VIBHAJU

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by Raymond Blathwayt

Foreword by Philip Gibbs

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